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A Clue to the Mystery of
Casanova's *Memoirs*

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THERE can be little disputing the fact that the *Memoirs* of Casanova is one of the great books of the world. It offers, as no other work, an incomparable picture of the eighteenth century. The author traveled almost everywhere in the Europe of his day. His curiosity was insatiable: he contrived to have audiences with Voltaire, Crébillon, George III of England, Frederick the Great of Prussia, and Catherine the Great of Russia, and has left us detailed accounts of his conversations with those notable figures. His account of life in London, Paris, Berlin, Rome, Venice, Moscow, Petersburg, Warsaw, and Geneva is hardly equaled in the literature of the times. Casanova did not confine his acquaintances to kings and nobles: not the least interesting feature of his *Memoirs* is his description of the rakes and charlatans, such as Cagliostro and the Count de St. Germain, whom he encountered in every corner of Europe. He rubbed shoulders in easy camaraderie with nuns and prelates, no less than with gamblers and prostitutes, and he has spared us no details of an almost inimitable life.

And yet, as extraordinary as it may appear, the text of Casa-

nova's *Memoirs* as we have it is not the integral text as he composed it in French but a watered-down expurgated version. It is much as if we were compelled to read a great French classic in a Spanish translation. To this day the owners of the manuscript of the *Memoirs* have consistently refused to permit a faithful and exact reproduction of the original. Though the original manuscript survived the bombardment of Leipzig and its occupation by the Russians, it remains in the possession of Brockhaus, now in Wiesbaden, is not available for examination, and there is no intention on the part of the firm to proceed with its publication within the foreseeable future.

In 1821 the great German publishing firm of Brockhaus in Leipzig was approached by a nephew of Casanova, following the latter's death in 1798, with an offer of the manuscript text of the *Memoirs*. The transaction was concluded after Brockhaus had examined the text and had obtained the advice of a number of scholars attesting to its exceptional interest and value.

It may be helpful by way of background, and before proceeding to our main theme, to present in summary form an account of the various early editions of the *Memoirs* which have particular relevance to our argument.

1. The first edition of the *Memoirs* was published in German in Leipzig by Brockhaus, between the years 1822 and 1828, in twelve volumes. Brockhaus, owner of the manuscript, confided it, or one of several copies, to a certain William Schutz to make the translation and adaptation from the original French. The text is heavily expurgated, particularly of the livelier passages.

2. A pirated edition published by Tournachon-Melin, in Paris, 1825-1829, in fourteen volumes. Strictly speaking, it is the first French edition.

3. The second Brockhaus edition, edited by Jean Laforgue (1782-1852) in French, published in Leipzig and Brussels in the years 1826-1838, in twelve volumes. It is the most complete edition and is the one on which most reprints have been based.

4. A second pirated French edition, published in ten volumes in Paris by Paulin in 1833-1837, under the editorship of Busoni. The first eight volumes are cribbed from Laforgue; the origin of the last two volumes is still a mystery. It is with this edition that this study is more particularly concerned. The edition was reprinted by Paulin in 1843 in four volumes.

5. Rozez, a Brussels publisher, reprinted in 1860, 1863, 1872, and 1887, in six volumes, the Paulin edition of 1843, so that the Paulin edition is sometimes referred to as the Rozez edition. In 1900 it was republished by Flammarion.

6. The Garnier edition, first published in Paris in 1880, in twelve volumes, and reprinted a number of times, follows generally the Laforgue text.

7. The Sirène edition, published in 1924-1935, in twelve volumes in Paris, under the editorship of Raoul Vèze, with the collaboration of all the leading European Casanovists. This is the most scholarly of all the editions which have appeared.

8. The first English translation, made from the Laforgue text, but incomplete, was published by Neuhoff in Brunswick, Germany, in 1863, in six volumes. A fairly complete translation of the Laforgue text was made by Arthur Machen in 1894 in twelve volumes.

Let us examine the editions which here concern us most in somewhat greater detail.

The first French edition, the pirated one of Tournachon-Melin, is curiously enough a French translation, from the Schutz German translation, of the original French text of Casanova, after numerous excisions by Schutz. It is probably the least interesting of all editions of Casanova as it is the most bowdlerized: the text which Schutz had been at such pains to water down was still further emasculated by Melin. Yet it was the first to be made available in French to the French public, and its success was such that Brockhaus himself determined to issue a French edition. To compete with the pirated French edition it was nec-

essary for the new French edition to be more inclusive than either the former or Schutz and this, no doubt, explains the much fuller French edition which ensued.

This last-mentioned edition, known generally as the Laforgue, from the name of the French professor in Dresden who edited it in French for Brockhaus, has obtained until the present time general acceptance as the standard edition of the *Memoirs*. It is far and away more complete than any other edition.

Nevertheless Laforgue, while much more sparing of excisions than Schutz had been, was obliged for reasons of censorship to expurgate some parts and to veil others in a more chaste language than that which Casanova had employed. It has been proved also that in some cases Laforgue undertook to transform the meaning of certain portions of the text of Casanova which did not contain any indelicacies but which advanced views not in keeping with those of Laforgue. In the absence of the complete original text of Casanova it has not been possible to determine to what extent Casanova's language has been mutilated by Laforgue. There have been some literary critics who, on the basis of certain isolated passages of the original text which have been made available, have severely criticized Laforgue as thoroughly inept in his work of adaptation, while other critics of no less standing have been Laforgue's vigorous defenders. No conclusion is possible, of course, until the day when a comparison may be made between the text of Laforgue and that of the original manuscript, but that day seems as far off as it has been since 1821.

Although the Schutz German edition is, in general, much less inclusive than that of Laforgue, there are occasional passages, sometimes of rather considerable length, which appear in Schutz but not in Laforgue. These additions to or variations from the Laforgue text have been painstakingly reproduced in the notes to the Sirène edition.

Of all these editions the one which has aroused the greatest

controversy and has occasioned the greatest mystification, has been that of Paulin, sometimes referred to as the Rozez edition, after the name of the publishers who have reprinted it.

Paulin, moved by a desire to take advantage of the extraordinary success attending the sale of the Tournachon-Melin edition in 1825 and of the Leipzig edition in French edited by Laforgue, which began to appear in 1826, decided several years later to bring out a pirated edition of the Laforgue text. The first eight volumes of the Laforgue version having appeared by 1832, these volumes were copied and issued by Paulin in 1833.

In the same year, 1833, Brockhaus, the publisher of the Laforgue text, was suddenly confronted with censorship difficulties which obliged him to postpone issuance of the four remaining volumes contemplated.

Paulin was in a quandary, as he had obligated himself to deliver the complete text to his subscribers. During the succeeding several years the pressure upon him became greater and greater while, to his discomfiture, Brockhaus had not resumed publication of the final volumes of the Laforgue edition. It may be reasonably conjectured that Paulin was forced to resort to desperate expedients. Whatever these may have been (and no explanation was ever offered by either Paulin, the publisher, or Busoni, the editor), the fact nevertheless remains that in 1837 there was issued in two volumes by Paulin what purported to be the remaining text of the *Memoirs*. The publication occurred four years after the publication by Paulin of the first eight volumes, and only one year before the publication of the final four volumes of the Laforgue text. This Paulin copy was issued under the editorship of a certain Busoni, a fairly well-known French journalist.

When the Laforgue text of the final four volumes appeared in 1838, the following year, it was noted with astonishment that the final two volumes of the Paulin-Busoni text issued in the preceding year were substantially different. Episodes appearing

in the Laforgue text were missing from that of the Paulin-Busoni version while, on the other hand, episodes were to be found in the latter which appeared neither in the Laforgue nor Schutz versions.

To this day the mystery has never been solved, although it has absorbed countless Casanovists. Some have suggested that Busoni had access to an original manuscript of the *Memoirs*, unknown to Brockhaus, Laforgue or Schutz. There have been others who have gone so far as to argue that the Paulin text was made up out of whole cloth by Busoni, perhaps aided by the Schutz edition of 1822-1828 which was available to him in its complete form by 1828. This last theory has proved to be entirely untenable with the discovery of details in Paulin, not contained in Laforgue or Schutz, which could not possibly have been invented but the authenticity of which has subsequently been established on the basis of unpublished archives in Italy and France.

At this point it may be helpful to give in summary form the general characteristics of the two editions of Laforgue and Busoni.¹

Laforgue

The text is a consecutive one with no internal evidence of any lengthy omissions.

It is far more extensive than that of Busoni.

Some conversations appear to have been paraphrased in order to condense the narrative and make it tighter. In numerous instances such paraphrased conversations are found reproduced, presumably in the original text, in Busoni. In some instances this condensation has been such as to render the meaning somewhat obscure. Such obscurities are clarified in the Busoni text.

*Busoni*²

The text is far briefer than Laforgue.

There are evident hiatuses appearing at fairly frequent intervals which,

¹ The comparison, of course, has reference to the last four volumes of Laforgue with the last two of Busoni, the first volumes of the two editions being identical.

² It should be noted, as a curious discrepancy between the Busoni and Laforgue

in some but not in all cases, have been filled in with transitional interpolations.

Some text is entirely new and is found in no other text of Casanova. This new text shows none of the condensed character of that of the great portion of Busoni's version.

The condensed text, when set alongside that of Laforgue, complements it in an extraordinary manner, meshing with it completely, in most cases supplementing that of Laforgue and very frequently illuminating it and imparting to it a clarity and liveliness oftentimes lacking in the latter.

The non-condensed portions, when stripped of the few transitional passages interpolated either by Busoni but more probably by the copyist to make the narrative intelligible, likewise fall naturally into place when set in the context of the Laforgue text.

In a few instances, episodes appearing in the Busoni text have been transposed from their position as found in the Laforgue text, indicating perhaps that the loose sheets of the text, on which Busoni or his copyist had been working, had become misplaced.

Taking all these facts together, what do they suggest? From them it would seem that the following reasonable hypothesis may be drawn which may alone fit all the facts and circumstances.

Laforgue, or Schutz, but most probably the former, as the latter was working in German, set out by making an exact copy of the original manuscript text confided to him by Brockhaus for publication by the last-named. Such a working text was indispensable in preparation for the copy to be submitted to the printers. It was a text which Laforgue might be expected to prune and edit.

Someone who had access to this working copy, on the basis of which Laforgue was preparing an adulterated text for publication, took possession of those pages which Laforgue discarded from his working copy and made them available to Busoni. Or again the intermediary of Busoni may even have abstracted

texts, that in almost every instance where there is a reference to figures those of Busoni differ by a single unit from the figures expressed in the Laforgue text, as if the copyist wished deliberately to introduce a difference. Could this not have been in order thus naïvely to avoid a charge of having copied the text?

pages from Laforgue's working copy which Laforgue had intended to include in the published text. This would explain the presence in the Busoni version of long paragraphs which do not appear in the Laforgue text but which in Busoni not only have every appearance of authentic Casanova material but are distinguished by their completeness.

The reason contributing most to a lack of credence accorded the Paulin edition and to the suspicions entertained concerning it, has been due, first of all, to the refusal of either Paulin or Busoni to offer any explanation whatsoever of the source of the text for the last two volumes which departed so markedly from the text of Laforgue and Schutz. If our hypothesis is correct, that the text was based on pages surreptitiously abstracted by a copyist who had available to him the working copy of Laforgue's manuscript, it becomes quite clear why Paulin and Busoni were not disposed to discuss the source of their text. They could hardly avow publicly that they had obtained this text as a result of an abuse of confidence by their agent!

This ill repute of the Paulin-Busoni text has had the unfortunate result of causing it to be relegated far too long to a position of disesteem of which it is undeserving. It has caused it to be largely neglected when, in actual fact, as we shall endeavor to establish beyond the peradventure of a doubt, it affords us, when properly used, an unrivaled source of authentic text unequaled elsewhere.

The greatest damage done to the reputation of the Paulin text came about a few years ago with the discovery at Dux in Czechoslovakia, where Casanova spent his last years, of the text of two manuscript chapters which had been entirely missing from the manuscript purchased by Brockhaus. Here at long last was a basis for a comparison with Busoni.

When the comparison was made, it was discovered that the Busoni version completely contradicted that contained in the two missing chapters. In these recovered chapters Casanova's

love for a certain Armelline meets with success and he afterwards assists at her marriage ceremony to a Florentine. In the Busoni version the story is told quite differently, as follows:

I reconducted her back to the Superior in signifying to her that there would be in the future neither the theatre nor other diversions for her, and I went to bed, full of shame and anger. The next day, at ten o'clock, a note from the Superior informed me my fair one had been taken away during the night by an unknown one: I learned only later that everyone had tricked me in this circumstance and that the flight of the Florentine with Armelline had been plotted by my friends. In my despair I left Rome suddenly to run after the fugitives but, arrived in Florence, reason regained its mastery over me and there my desperate lovesickness passed away.

It is quite obvious that, faced in the text by a lacuna which existed also in the Laforgue and Schutz texts but which had there been openly acknowledged, the editors of the Paulin text quite barefacedly had supplied an imaginative account of Armelline's elopement to account for her disappearance from the narrative.

The complete lack of integrity of the editor (or copyist) in this instance was invoked far and wide by those Casanovists who had previously looked askance upon the Busoni version and who were now in an unrivaled position to say, "I told you so."

Yet such eminent Casanovists as Tage Bull, of Denmark, and others, while continuing to express great skepticism about the Busoni text and to regard it with the greatest reserve, nevertheless could not fail to be deeply disturbed by certain curiously inexplicable facts in confirmation of the undoubted authenticity of parts of it. Not least of these facts was the presence in the Paulin edition of particulars not to be found in either Schutz or Laforgue, which had been subject to minute confirmation upon reference to unpublished archives. The most dramatic perhaps of such instances was that concerned with the Charlotte episode in the *Memoirs*. This and other examples, which could be cited, of details in Busoni not to be found in Schutz or Laforgue but con-

firmed by investigators, certainly disposed of the absurd charge that the last two volumes of the Busoni text was nothing more than a fanciful emendation of Schutz. The facts with regard to the Charlotte episode are as follows:

In 1767, at Spa, Casanova encountered a Brussels girl of gentle birth named Charlotte, in company with the Marquis della Santa Croce, who had seduced her and who abandoned her to Casanova after she had become pregnant. Casanova looked after her with great disinterestedness, traveled with her to Paris and cared for her until she died in childbirth. In the *Memoirs* he quotes the official French certificate of Commissioner Dorival attesting to the child's baptism under the name of Jacques Charles, son of Antoine della Croce and of Charlotte de*** (the name of Charlotte appears thus in the Laforgue text and as Charlotte X in Schutz). Casanova added that if any readers were curious of knowing the name of the mother he had afforded them the means of satisfying their curiosity.

Vain efforts were repeatedly made by Casanovists to confirm the truth of Casanova's account. Dr. Guede, not to be discouraged where others had failed, undertook the search himself and found a record in the Archives of the Public Assistance in Paris of the birth of Jacques Charles Lacrosse on October 17, 1767, son of Antoine Lacrosse and Charlotte Lamotte, and of the child's death on October 31, 1767. What had rendered the search difficult had been the transformation of della Croce's name into the French equivalent of Lacrosse.

But what is most remarkable is that the Busoni text, repudiated and ignored by so many Casanovists, is the only one in which the initials of Charlotte are correctly given, where she is identified as Charlotte de L. There could be no more striking testimony of the authenticity of at least that part, if not others, of the Busoni text.

If the researchers had only paid a little more attention to the Busoni text than to the Laforgue or Schutz texts, they would

have had an invaluable clue, at the beginning of their painstaking labors, in the form of the correct initials of Charlotte, i.e., C.L., which are to be found in no other edition. But the Paulin-Busoni text had been so discredited by Casanovists that no one dreamed of being guided by so suspected a text.

If further proof were needed of the value of the Paulin edition, it is to be had in a comparison of the respective accounts given by Busoni and Laforgue of Casanova's duel with Branicki in Warsaw in 1766, with the account published by Casanova in 1780 in Venice of the same affair. This latter, entitled *Il Duello* (*The Duel*), was only brought to light at the beginning of this century in a collection of Casanova pamphlets under the general title of *Opusculi Miscellanei*, of which only a single complete collection is known, that in the Querini-Stampalia Library at Venice.

Here at last we have an opportunity of comparing disputed texts with indisputably authentic Casanova text. The results do only honor to Busoni.

In the *Duel*, Casanova states he waited for Branicki a half-hour outside the theatre after his exchange of words with him. Laforgue states a quarter of an hour; Busoni gives the time correctly as half an hour.

After the incident Casanova goes to the house of a Polish nobleman and is so distracted when playing cards that he is asked where his thoughts are. In the *Duel* he replies "a hundred leagues away"; in Laforgue, "four leagues"; and in Busoni, "ten leagues." In his *Memoirs* Casanova may well have employed the expression "ten" rather than a "hundred"; the former certainly has more verisimilitude than "four."

In the conversation at the dueling ground, Casanova says in the *Duel* he has come not to fight but to defend himself, as he would do *even in a church*. This last observation is omitted by Laforgue but faithfully reproduced by Busoni.

In the *Duel*, the adversaries are separated by ten paces. The

Busoni version recounts that each took five paces, which accords with the authentic version; Laforgue says they took "five or six paces." The *Duel* states the size of the open space in the thicket of woods did not permit the antagonists to put more than ten or a dozen paces between them. Laforgue does not mention this detail but Busoni states that the distance between the two "represented almost the whole length of the place."

The *Duel* gives the distance from the dueling ground to the inn to which Branicki was borne after being wounded, as one hundred paces. Busoni gives this same detail, which Laforgue omits.

When Branicki was carried into the inn, the *Duel* states he was stretched out in a large chair and then was laid out at full length. Laforgue mentions only the large chair, which Busoni omits, and states that he was extended on a mattress.

Perhaps the most significant detail attesting the accuracy of Busoni is that having to do with Bissinski, Branicki's friend, who seeks out Casanova after the duel to kill him. Casanova has escaped from the inn in a peasant's cart. As he proceeds to Warsaw he perceives Bissinski galloping in his pursuit "towards the inn." This detail, given in the *Duel*, is repeated by Busoni but omitted by Laforgue.

The foregoing comparison, which so far as is known has never before been made, would appear to dispose for all time of the absurd contention that the Busoni text is nothing but an embroidered version of Schutz. Here in Busoni are found such details included in the *Duel*, the first text of this famous incident later reproduced in the *Memoirs*, as to leave no longer in the least doubt the authenticity of the Busoni text.

Now it is a curious fact that when a comparison is made of the Busoni text with that of Laforgue, the only really important conflicts in the two texts occur at those places in the Busoni version where episodes which occur in the Laforgue text are missing from that of Busoni. Such *lacunae*, as in the case already cited,

have necessitated the interpolation of a new text completely foreign to the original Casanova manuscript, in order to make the transition intelligible for the narrative as a whole.

Two instances, it is believed, will suffice to illustrate this point.

At the beginning of volume IX of the Laforgue text, upon the second visit of Casanova to Genoa, Annette, whom Casanova had known with her sister Veronique on the occasion of his first visit, is engaged by Casanova to act as maid to his so-called niece, Mlle. Crosin, with whom he is traveling. The Busoni text omits any mention of the employment of Annette, who is found suddenly precipitated into the narrative in a text which does not appear in Laforgue but which with the elimination of a transitional passage, obviously interpolated to account for her presence, concords perfectly with the Laforgue narrative and furnishes us precious new and authentic Casanova material.

The key sentence with which Annette is introduced in the Busoni text is as follows:

"Would you like for me to call Annette?"

This is authentic text, but there is interpolated immediately thereafter to account for Annette's presence the following entirely extraneous text, which would not have been necessary to explain the presence of Annette had the copyist or editor had available to him the more complete text of Laforgue:

I have not yet informed the reader that, among the number of old acquaintances found again in Genoa, Annette was among these. She inhabited in fact the house where we were living.

There is not the least doubt that this is a text foreign to the manuscript of Casanova, as can be readily seen when the text of Busoni is placed in its context with that of Laforgue.

Casanova leaves Genoa, traveling with Marcoline, his abbé brother, and his so-called niece. In the Laforgue text the niece, Mlle. Crosin or Mlle. P. P., as she is termed at times accom-

panies the party to Marseilles, where Casanova contrives to arrange for her marriage and meets numerous members of her family.³ There is no further mention of her in Busoni after Antibes. The copyist or editor has, consequently, found it necessary to account for her sudden disappearance from the narrative, and to accomplish this has interpolated gratuitously the following passage:

On arriving at Antibes my niece left us. I had reason to attribute our separation to a letter she had received in secret from Santa Croce. In spite of the new charm which drew me to Marcoline, I did not see Mlle. Crosin depart without feeling a profound affliction which she was certainly far from sharing. The caresses of Marcoline had not dissipated my sadness when we entered Marseilles.

In general these transitional interpolated passages are fairly easy of identification. As a guiding rule of thumb it may be said that the first line or two of text in Busoni where a gap occurs between the narrative of Busoni with that of the lengthier Laforgue is subject to suspicion, particularly where the Busoni text is in open conflict or does not accord with that of Laforgue.

Other examples may be cited of these interpolated transitional passages introduced to give meaning to heterogenous passages of a narrative which the copyist did not have available in continuous form. Here are some of those we have been able to identify:

The day before my departure I found myself, in leaving Rosalie, face to face with my brother the abbé. My first inclination was to avoid him . . . he recounted his story to which I did not listen; he spoke to me of his unhappiness, and I laughed in his face for I saw him plump and in good health;

"Go," I said to my brother, in throwing him my purse, "go find some clothes for Mdlle. . . ." As soon as he had left she acquainted me with the facts. . . . My brother had tried to debauch her without success; unhappy in her family. . . .

³ The fact that she is known as Mdlle. P. P. in Schutz and as Mdlle. Crosin in both Laforgue and Busoni texts tends to confirm our hypothesis that the Busoni text is that of Laforgue and not Schutz.

We forgot during several hours that my brother could return at any moment and surprise us; but the dear abbé had disappeared with my purse not to return again.

That evening I had Marcoline brought to my hotel. . . .

This took place in the morning. In the afternoon I went [in search of Passano].

In the evening I received a note from the Marquise informing me of her sudden departure for Aix without any explanation. . . .

. . . it was time that we resumed our journey. . . .

The next day, after one of the saddest days of my life, I directed myself towards Paris, alone in my carriage, Clairmont having gone ahead to prepare the relays. It seemed to me that the rapidity of my journey would give a salutary relief to my chagrin.

I shall not undertake to depict this evening, whose souvenirs have left few traces in my mind. All this great society appeared to me cold and stiff. At the end of two hours, not being able to contain myself any longer I took my hat

I will spare the reader the details of this terrible parting.

I pass in silence over the details of this dinner and of the evening which followed; they have nothing of interest for the reader.

I shall say nothing either of the disagreeable circumstances in which my name was mixed, thanks to the Cornelis and a certain M. Constantini. I come to the account of a long misadventure which occurred to me in London and which made me hate my sojourn in that cursed city.

In speaking just now of Buckingham-House I have forgotten to recount a little anecdote which depicts very well the humor of the English.

But it is time that I came to the recital of my interview with the Empress. . . .

I shall recount in a little while the new interview we had together; but let me mention first a little voyage that I made in the environs of Petersburg.

After this excursion I resume the account of my interviews with the Empress.

I pass in silence over the details of my excursion . . . [to Leopold].

The reader should not expect long details on my successive travels through Augsbourg, Louisbourg, Schwetzingen and Mayence. . . .

During my voyage to Rome an adventure occurred to me which is worth recounting. . . .

I come now to a little romance of the young Menicuccio and his mistress.

I return to my story. . . .

One can well imagine that I said goodbye forever to Viscioletta.

Note the very stereotyped character of most of these transition sentences and the evident contriving to account for the passage from one subject to another. There is noteworthy also the constant resort to the device that details may be passed over because of their lack of interest to the reader. This was a method admirably conceived to hide the embarrassment of the copyist's inability to account otherwise for missing passages from the narrative. One cannot escape the impression that this extraneous matter was inserted by the copyist rather than Busoni, in order to account for the gaps which would have been puzzling to the editors and which would have made apparent the incomplete character of the manuscript with which they were dealing.

Let us examine next a running passage of some length which is to be found in Busoni but not in Schutz or Laforgue. Here is one of the most dramatic of such episodes:

The cold was intense and a small and thick snow was falling, a rare occurrence in Spain, where autumn extends to December. I had barely arrived when a soldier sought to relieve me of my cloak which I had taken along with me wholly by chance. I resisted and the man said to me, in a cryptic and moving tone of voice: "You will have no further need of it."

These words made me shudder. I raised my eyes and saw in front of me, at some distance, a horrible sight, seven or eight soldiers drawn up in two ranks, with their guns held in their arms. The great black walls of the fortress cast on this scene a still more lugubrious aspect. By the light of some lanterns I witnessed the preparations made for my agony, for there was no doubt, I was going to be shot. I was frozen with fear, and at the same time my heart leaped with indignation. By what strange contempt for the rights of man and humanity was I going to be executed without a trial? What was my crime? Of what misdeed was I guilty which merited death? Absorbed in these reflections I was leaning, overcome, against the wall, when the officer, who appeared as visibly affected as I, came to ask me if I had any final dispositions I wished to make as he

was there to undertake them for me. On hearing his words, which announced so clearly my fate, my anger gained the mastery of me. I protested energetically against the assassination of which I was the victim and raising my voice, I invoked before God, as responsible for my agony all those who were going to be in any way the instruments of it. Finally, I ended by asking for a priest. Thereupon an individual, whose head was enveloped in a large mantle, approached the officer and spoke to him in a low tone of voice. The latter came and took my arm and led me into another cell, in the form of a cave, paved with flagstones, into which a slight breath of air entered at the top, a veritable tomb, where he left me enclosed alive, under the guard of a new jailer. This man, whose exterior accorded well with his functions, informed me that I would have to order at one time all the food I would require for the next day; for, no one except him, could enter my prison which he called, *calabozo*.

This injunction, however restrictive it was, freed me from my mortal concern. In my situation a delay of twenty-four hours was sufficient to save me. "I have asked for a priest," I said to my keeper. "Must I not prepare for my death?"

"A priest has never entered here. This prison is not for those condemned to death."

"Are you not acquainted with what took place before my transfer here?"

"All that I know is that I have been given no instructions which are prescribed for those condemned to death. The proof is that you have your hands and feet free and that I have orders to furnish you, upon payment, all that you need."

"You were then forewarned of my arrival?"

"Since this morning."

Thus it was a pretended execution that I had been made to pass through and I owed it probably to the infernal mind of Passano, for it could not be imagined that the Viceroy would have been the author of this atrocious aggravation of my punishment.

This episode, of the most moving character and recounted with a superb flair for the dramatic, fits perfectly into the text of Laforgue when substituted for the final paragraph of the following, quoted from that editor's narrative:

On the fourth day the officer of the guard came to me with a distressed

look, and told me that he had the disagreeable duty of giving me some very bad news.

"What is that, sir?"

Here two sentences, found only in Busoni, make the dialogue more intelligible:

"You will know it shortly."

"But where are you taking me?"

"I have received orders to transfer you to the bottom of the tower."

"To transfer me?"

"Yes."

"Then they must have discovered in me a criminal of the deepest dye. Let us go at once."

I found myself in a kind of round cellar, paved with large flagstones, and lighted by five or six narrow slits in the walls. The officer told me I must order what food I required to be brought once a day, as no one was allowed to come into the *calabozo*, or dungeon, by night.

Substitute the Busoni text quoted above for the last paragraph of the Laforgue text cited immediately above and the narrative stands, without the addition of a comma or an extraneous word.

In addition to these portions of text, which appear to be integral passages of the original manuscript of the *Memoirs*, we are confronted in the Paulin edition with long passages which have every appearance of being fragmentary in character. They suggest that the surreptitious copyist was subject to interruption at any moment, and that he was obliged to perform his work furtively and in considerable haste. Many long conversations, in particular, are reproduced in skeleton form as if the copyist were concerned only in copying sufficient matter to make the sense of the dialogue clear. At other times the conversation may be found reproduced in what appears to be *in extenso*, as if the copyist could work at leisure. Whether the characteristics are the one or the other, these invariably mesh in a remarkably satisfactory manner with the Laforgue text, with some minor and unimportant ex-

ceptions which may reasonably be attributable to differences naturally resulting from the handiwork of two different editors.

Let us take as an example a meeting between Casanova and his painter brother, François, in Paris and their encounter with their ne'er-do-well brother, an abbé.

Laforge

I went to sup with my brother and his wife, who were delighted to see me, and told me that I had come just in time to use a little gentle persuasion on our friend the abbé, of whom they had got tired.

"Where is he?"

"You will see him before long, for it is near supper-time; and as eating and drinking are the chief concerns of his life, he will not fail to put in an appearance."

"What has he done?"

"Everything that a good-for-nothing can do; but I hear him coming, and I will tell you about it in his presence."

The abbé was astonished to see me, and began a polite speech, although I did not favor him with so much as a look. Then he asked me what I had against him.

"All that an honest man can have against a monster. I have read the letter you wrote to Passano, in which I am styled a cheat, a spy, a coiner, and a poisoner. What does the abbé think of that?"

He sat down to table without a word, and my brother began as follows:

Busoni

After the theatre I went to my brother François'.

"Parbleu," he cried, "you arrive just in time; you are going to help me get rid of our damnable brother."

"You speak thus of an abbé! Ah! Ah! the wretch is here. I was expecting it."

"You sent him away from Genoa?"

"He took leave himself."

"And you stole his mistress?"

"It was he who stole several louis from me."

"He is a good for nothing."

"You are telling me! But where is he?"

"Patience. It is supper-time. He is punctual. I want to tell you in his presence the tricks he has played on me."

At this moment, his arms crossed, his eyes fixed on the ground, the dear abbé enters. He raises his hand as if he were going to give us his benediction: we received him, François and I by each taking hold of one of his ears.

"You are a rascal!"

"A worthless fellow!"

"A deceiver!"

"A calumniator!"

"Have pity, dear brothers! What have you against me?"

"You will tell me, sir, who has written a vile letter to Passano in which I am described as a spy, a forger and even a poisoner."

"Not knowing the person I will not name him."

And the hypocrite sat down at the table as calmly as you please. We did the same and François began as follows:

As will be readily seen, the Busoni text is far the livelier of the two. It has a sprightliness which the Laforgue text conspicuously lacks, and gives every impression of being the more authentic original text.

Here is perhaps an even more striking example:

Laforgue

Thinking that her dear son was joking, Madame Cornelis looked at me in some astonishment, and told him to go to bed, which he did instantly. When we were alone she said he struck her as badly educated, and too small for his age.

"I am very much afraid," said she, "that we shall have to begin his education all over again. What has he learnt in the last six years?"

"He might have learnt a great deal, for he went to the best boarding school in Paris; but he only learnt what he liked and what he liked was not much. He can play the flute, ride, fence, dance a minuet, change his shirt every day, an-

Busoni

The child spoke naïvely. His mother thought he was joking and made him leave. When we were alone together she said: "What education have you given him, Monsieur! He does not know how to place a word properly. What has he learnt in the last six years?"

"He has just left, Madame, the best school in Paris, a renowned institution where both living and dead languages are taught, as well as mathematics, chemistry, astronomy, history and geography. . . ."

"My son has learned all those fine things?"

"Alas, Madame, the truth is he only learnt what he liked."

swer politely, make a graceful bow, talk elegant trifles, and dress well. As he never had any application, he doesn't know anything about literature; he can scarcely write, his spelling is abominable, his arithmetic limited, and I doubt whether he knows in what continent England is situated."

"He has used the six years well, certainly."

"Say, rather, he has wasted them; but he will waste many more."

"My daughter will laugh at him; but then it is I who have had the care of her education. He will be ashamed when he finds her so well instructed though she is only eight."

"But at least he knows something?"

"Without doubt: to ride, to fence, to dance a minuet."

"I am glad of that."

"And to play the flageolet."

"I would have preferred the flute."

"Then Madame, he can change his shirt every day, answer politely make a graceful bow, talk elegant trifles, and dress well."

"That is true, he is elegant and well turned out but I find him rather short for his age. . . . Let's come to essentials. What does he know after all?"

"You have not listened to me, Madame, I have told you."

"But, mathematics, geography, grammar. . . ."

"All that is Hebrew to him."

"He knows how to read at least!"

"His letters, nothing more."

"There are six years well employed! He will blush at seeing Sophie who, at eight years, already possesses so much knowledge."

Let us cite an example which illustrates how the Busoni version clears up obscurities in the Laforgue text.

Laforgue

A little later Goudar put in an appearance. He had got a copy of the *St. James Chronicle*, containing a brief report of my arrest, and of my being set at liberty under a bail of eighty guineas. My name and

Busoni

The day after this unlucky episode Goudar brought me a copy of the *St. James Chronicle* where all my story was recounted. The Charpillon and I were designated by initials but Rostaing and the

the lady's were disguised, but Ros-taing and Bottarelli were set down plainly and the editor praised their conduct. I felt as if I should like to know Bottarelli, and begged Goudar to take me to him, and Martinelli, happening to call just then, said he would come with us.

We entered a wretched house, and there we beheld a picture of the greatest misery. A woman and five children clothed in rags formed the foreground, and in the background was Bottarelli, in an old dressing-gown, writing at a table worthy of Philemon and Baucis. He rose as we came in, and the sight of him moved me to compassion. I said:

"Do you know me, sir?"

"No sir, I do not."

"I am Casanova, against whom you bore false witness; whom you tried to cast into Newgate."

"I am very sorry, but look around you and say what choice have I? I have no bread to give my children. I will do as much in your favor another time for nothing."

"Are you not afraid of the gallows?"

"No, for perjury is not punished with death; besides it is very difficult to prove."

"I have heard you are a poet."

"Yes, I have lengthened the *Didone* and abridged the *Demetrio*."

"You are a great poet indeed."

other witness were set down plainly and their conduct praised. Goudar having informed me that Bottarelli presented himself as a man of letters I thought to have discovered the author of the calumnious article and I went out to find his house. On my way I encountered Martinelli who indicated the house for which I was searching and offered to accompany us.

In a miserable room on the fourth floor, in the dirtiest quarter of London, I perceived a man surrounded by four children, occupied in blackening paper.

"I am," I said, "the Chevalier Casanova, the one in fact that your testimony caused to be imprisoned in Newgate for an hour."

"I am deeply grieved."

"Do you consider your grief can suffice me?"

"Monsieur, I am the father of a family and I was promised two guineas."

"But you play a rôle, it seems to me which might cost you dearly. You do not fear the gallows?"

"A false witness is not hanged; he is only deported and, moreover, how can one prove that the deposition of a witness is false?"

"I shall be able to prove it myself. Where have you ever seen me, I ask you? Can you swear you were a third with the Charpillon and me?"

"I would dare swear it, sir, even

I felt more contempt than hatred for the rascal, and gave his wife a guinea, for which she presented me with a wretched pamphlet by her husband: 'The Secrets of the Freemasons Revealed.' Bottarelli had been a monk in his native city, Pisa, and had fled to England with his wife, who had been a nun.

though I knew I would be lying."

"You are a contemptible cur."

"That is true but there is my excuse, if not my justification."

And he pointed to his family.

"Are you not the author of a certain article appearing this morn- in the *St. James Chronicle*?"

"No, sir, I would have liked to have done this article but the truth is I have not."

"You engage in writing, it ap- pears."

"Is it not necessary for me to give bread to these poor ones? I work for newspapers despite my repugnance for this profession. My real vocation is poetry."

"Are you a poet?"

"I have abridged *Didone* and lengthened *Demetrio*."

I gave a guinea to his wife which was the extent of my vengeance. In gratitude for my action she pre- sented me with a writing of her husband entitled "The Secrets of the Freemasons Revealed." This secret partook rather of comedy: the work, however, did not lack wit. This Bottarelli had been a monk and his wife a nun; they both inhabited the same town, Pisa. As they loved one another, they lived together secretly, a pregnan- cy resulted and two lovers fled to England.

Here is the collated text, with the Busoni text italicized:

A little later Goudar put in an appearance. He had got a copy of the *St. James Chronicle*, containing a brief report of my arrest, and of my being set at liberty under a bail of eighty guineas. My name and the lady's name were *designated by initials*, but Rostaing and *the other witness named Bottarelli* were set down plainly, and the editor praised their conduct. Goudar, *having informed me that Bottarelli represented himself as a man of letters, I thought to have discovered the author of the calumnious article and I went out to find his house.* Martinelli, happening to call just then, said he would come with us and show us the place.

We entered a wretched room on the *fourth* floor of a wretched house, *in the dirtiest quarter of London*, and there we beheld a picture of the greatest misery. A woman and *four* children clothed in rags formed the background, and in the background was Bottarelli, in an old dressing gown, *blackening paper* at a table worthy of Philemon and Baucis. He rose as we came in, and the sight of him moved me to compassion. I said:

"Do you know me, sir?"

"No, sir, I do not."

"I am *the Chevalier Casanova*, *the one in fact that your testimony caused to be imprisoned in Newgate for an hour.*"

"I am deeply grieved."

"Do you consider your grief can suffice me?"

"Look around you and say what choice have I? I have no bread to give to my children *and I was promised two guineas.* I will do as much in your favor another time for nothing."

"*But you are playing a rôle, it seems to me which might cost you dear.* Are you not afraid of the gallows?"

"No, for perjury is not punished with death *but only by deportation*; besides it is very difficult to prove."

"I shall be able to prove it myself. *Where have you ever seen me, I ask you? Can you swear you were a third with the Charpillon and me?*"

"I would swear it, sir, even though I knew I would be lying."

"You are a contemptible cur."

"That is true but there is my excuse, if not my justification." *And he pointed to his family.*

"Are you not the author of a certain article appearing this morning in the *St. James Chronicle?*"

"No, sir, I would have liked to have done this article but the truth is I have not."

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"I have heard you are a poet."

"Yes, I have abridged Didon and lengthened Demetrio."

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Here is a further very striking example:

Laforge

England is different in every respect from the rest of Europe; even the countryside has a different aspect, and the water of the Thames has a taste peculiar to itself. Everything has its own characteristics, and the fish, cattle, horses, men, and women are of a type not found in any other land. Their manner of living is wholly different from that of other countries, especially their cookery. The most striking feature in their character is their national pride; they exalt themselves above all other nations.

Busoni

England has a completely different appearance from the other countries of the continent. It is a country of gloom and fog where the light from the sun seems to reach one through an oily paper. A long sojourn in the British Isles is needed to accustom oneself to their climate, while at the same time, long familiarity with the English is necessary to become habituated to their humor. It took me some time in the beginning to discover what they call comfort. Upon arriving on English soil, your throat is overcome with a salty perfume, a smell of the sea from which it is impossible to escape. Bread, meat, even drinks, with the exception of wine (I speak of that which is not adulterated) are impregnated with it. This odor rises

even from clothing and from kitchen utensils. Everywhere in England, there is to be found, if not the presence of the sea, at least signs of its proximity and influence. It is mixed with and stamped upon this people: it is a real aquatic [*sic*] population. The men have a character of their own which is very pronounced, owing to a prejudice common to most nations, they fancy they belong to a race superior to that of other inhabitants of the globe.

One must agree that there have been few more acute descriptions of England than that contained in the Busoni text. It brings to mind the opening chapter of Taine's great work on English Literature, and it may even have inspired that chapter since Taine is known to have been an avid reader of Casanova in his youth. Note how easy is the juxtaposition of the two texts above:

England has a completely different appearance from the other countries of the Continent; even the countryside has a different aspect, and the water of the Thames has a taste peculiar to itself. Everything has its own characteristics, and the fish, cattle, horses, men, and women are of a type not found in any other land. Their manner of living is wholly different from that of other countries, especially their cookery. It is a country of gloom and fog [etc., etc.; the text continuing thereafter according to the Busoni text quoted above].

Critics of the Paulin-Busoni edition have been greatly mystified by the absence from that edition of several episodes which appear at length in the Laforgue edition. These include: the encounter with Adèle Moreau on Casanova's journey from Lyons to Paris in 1763; that of Sara Muralt in London; his remeeting with Redegonde in his journey from London to Berlin; his visit to Leopold, while staying in Warsaw; his journey through Augs-

burg, Louisburg and Schwetzingen; his encounter with Bodin, and his meeting with the two girls at Poitiers while *en route* from Paris to Madrid. Other episodes, which are dealt with most sketchily, include those of his voyage from Genoa to Marseilles in 1763; his encounter with Mdlle. Blasin in Montpellier; the Betty episode in Italy; his meeting with Lucrezia and Leonilda in Naples, and that with Armelline and Emilie at Rome.

Now if we refer to the episodes which are omitted altogether, and those which are dealt with very summarily, we shall observe that those are precisely the ones which are dealt with in great and apparently inclusive detail by Laforgue.

What does this suggest? It would appear to indicate that Laforgue took over from his working copy these episodes *in extenso* and had no copy to leave for his unscrupulous assistant to abstract. The very absence, therefore, from the Paulin-Busoni version of the text which Laforgue gives in great detail only serves to confirm the hypothesis we have advanced, that the Paulin-Busoni edition is based on the working papers of Laforgue.

Critics, and among them most notably Tage Bull and Raoul Vèze, have, on occasion, almost come upon the riddle of the enigma only to fail to develop it to its logical conclusion as we have done.

Thus, in an article entitled "Le Vrai Texte des Mémoires de Casanova: l'Edition Paulin-Rozet," in *Pages Casanoviennes*, p. 93, Paris, 1925, M. Bull has written:

Either the anonymous worker-over has drawn from his own brain the details which tardily distinguish the Paulin publication, or this shadowy unknown one must have had access to the autograph manuscript which he has arranged in his own way. Now M. Brockhaus declares formally (letters of September 29 and November 25, 1913) that no third person has been able to consult the manuscript, and still less to make a copy. It is painful to challenge so authorized an authority but it is still more repugnant to us to admit a supernatural authority. It is clear that as an alternative there is only one course to follow: reject the miracle and declare, not

less formally, that M. Brockhaus is mistaken and that unknown to them the Paris publisher has had at his disposition, if not the manuscript itself of Leipzig, at least a copy or rough drafts: a manuscript of some kind,—a copy, perhaps hastily made and full of faults very probably, *no doubt* incomplete, made, for example, by Laforgue for his own personal edification, which became lost or was abstracted . . . who can tell. We would be hard put to it to say how the thing happened, but it had to happen *underhandedly* in one way or another.

And here is the remark of Raoul Vèze, commenting in 1929 upon the Paulin edition, in volume IX of the Sirène edition of the *Memoirs*:

As we know it is beginning with the ninth volume that the Paulin-Rozes edition is no longer in accordance with the original Laforgue edition. The editor Paulin, in fact, had published in 1833 the first eight volumes of the Brockhaus-Laforgue French edition in their integrity; but the Leipzig editor, overwhelmed with protests from the French censors had to interrupt their publication. He did not resume it until ten years later, in 1838 under the legend "Bruxelles" to pursue it without interruption to a satisfactory end, to volume XII, in the same year. Paulin, in the greatest embarrassment, thought of having translated or rather adapted the Schutz edition which itself had been completely finished since 1828. But Busoni, the editor of the adaptation, certainly did not hold to the text of W. von Schutz; and we are led to believe that by a mysterious coincidence he had at his disposal just at this moment either a variant of the manuscript of Jacques Casanova or unpublished notes that Laforgue himself had made and not utilized. In the opinion of the most competent Casanovists, MM. Tage Bull and G. Gugitz, who have examined the problem without being able to solve it in the absence of material proof, Philippe Busoni found himself probably at the critical moment in the possession of new documents, perhaps even unknown to Laforgue and Schutz, in any case unutilized by them and of which certain ones are of indisputable authenticity. We know this from the statements of M. Brockhaus, owner of the original manuscript.

Unfortunately Busoni wished to make additions on his own, as we shall see in noting the variants;⁴ he has done it in particular no doubt in the macabre adventure he attributed to Casanova on the occasion of his so-

⁴ Unfortunately only a *minor* fraction of those variants are noted in the Sirène edition.

journal in Madrid which is perhaps fabricated.⁵ Moreover, he regarded as non-existent the hiatus of the two chapters lacking in the last volume and he has somehow or other connected the text. This suffices to remove any confidence in an edition brought together with such lack of respect for the text.

One of the stumbling blocks to a clearing-up of the mystery of the Busoni text has been the impression made upon the casual reader that the text of Busoni is in many places in contradiction with that of Laforgue and Schutz.

These apparent contradictions have largely arisen, it is believed, from a failure to recognize and identify the interpolated transitional passages which, as a matter of fact, are comparatively few, as has been seen. A further confusion has been created by the fact that the copyist has run together fragmentary passages in an effort to give the narrative cohesiveness.

One example of this should suffice. It is taken from the episode of Casanova's meeting with his brother, the abbé, at Genoa in 1763. We place the Laforgue and Busoni texts in comparative columns and italicize the interpolated material in Busoni:

Laforgue

On the Tuesday in Holy Week I was just getting up, when Clairmont came to tell me that a priest who would not give his name wanted to speak to me. I went out in my night-cap, and the rascally priest rushed at me and nearly choked me with his embraces. I did not like so much affection, and as I had not recognized him at first on account of the darkness of the room, I took him by the arm and led him to the window. It was my youngest brother, a good-for-nothing fellow, whom I had always dis-

Busoni

The day before my departure I found myself on leaving Rosalie, face to face with my brother, the abbé. My first inclination was to avoid him; but he, with exclamations of joy, threw himself around my neck. I escaped from his embraces; he recounted his story to which I did not listen; he spoke to me of his unhappiness and I laughed in his face for I saw him plump and in good health; then, taking the tone of a preacher in the flesh:

"My brother," he said to me, "if it only concerned me I would not bother you with my lamenta-

⁵ No less an authority than E. Maynial, on the other hand, accepts the Madrid adventure as genuine (*Casanova et son temps*, Paris, 1910).

liked. I had not seen him for ten years, but I cared so little about him that I had not even inquired whether he were alive or dead in the correspondence I maintained with M. de Bragadin, Dandolo and Barbaro.

As soon as his silly embraces were over, I coldly asked him what chance had brought him to Genoa in this disgusting state of dirt, rags and tatters. He was only twenty-nine, his complexion was fresh and healthy, and he had a splendid head of hair. He was a posthumous son, born like Mahomet, three months after the death of his father.

"If I were to recount, my dear brother, the story of my misfortunes it would be long. Take me into your room, and I will sit down and tell you the whole story."

...

"No, wait for me here. We will go somewhere where you can tell me your story, if I have the patience to listen to it. But don't tell any of my people that you are my brother, for I am ashamed to have such a relation. Come, take me to the place where you are staying."

"I must tell you that at my inn I am not alone, and I want to have a private interview with you."

"Who is with you?"

"I will tell you presently, but let us go into a coffee house."

"But I want to know whether you are in company with a band

tions but when you will know that a poor girl. . . ."

"What, sir, some more pranks? You have no shame with that priestly garb? You have seduced her no doubt?"

"Ah, my brother, you must not scold me. I respect her and will respect her always; my intention is to discard the sacred character of which I am unworthy and to marry the unfortunate girl."

"Another stupidity, sir, that I will not permit. It is some adventure, I wager."

"Innocence itself, sixteen years, a real madonna in flesh and bones. She is there (and he pointed out a neighboring house) without resources, without food, or clothing."

"I am ready to assist you through pity for her."

"I am convinced of it."

"Quick, let us go."

I soon saw a miserably poor young girl, almost naked and ravishingly beautiful.

"We are saved," the abbé cried to her. "It's my brother." She looked at me, half smiling, half blushing, and at that moment my heart was hers.

"Go," *I said to my brother, in throwing him my purse, "go find some clothes for mademoiselle; it is not proper for her to reside here."* Either through ignorance or some other motive, M. the abbé had in-

of brigands. What are you sighing at?"

"I must confess it, however painful it may be to my feelings. I am with a woman."

"A woman and you a priest?"

"Forgive me, I was blinded by love, and seduced by my senses and her beauty, so I seduced her under a promise to marry her at Geneva. I can never go back to Venice, for I took her away from her father's house."

"What could you do at Geneva? They would expel you after you had been there three days. Come, we will go to the inn and see the woman you have deceived. I will speak to you alone afterwards."

I began to trace my steps in the direction he had pointed out, and he was obliged to follow me. As soon as we got to the inn, he went on in front, and after climbing three flights of stairs I entered a wretched den where I saw a tall, very young girl, a pretty and piquant brunette who looked proud and not in the least confused. As soon as I made my appearance, she said, without any greeting:

"Are you the brother of this liar and monster who has deceived me so abominably?"

"Yes, my beautiful lady" I replied, "I have that honor."

"A fine honor, truly. Well, have the kindness to send me back to

stalled his love in a disreputable house. *As soon as he had left she acquainted me with the facts. My brother had tried to debauch her without succeeding; unhappy in her family,* Marcoline had only consented to leave after being overwhelmed by the magnificent lies of M. the abbé and by a formal promise of marriage. She showed me the writing.

"You were unaware then that he is in orders!"

"He is a monster!"

"And that you are not the first to whom he has given such a written engagement?"

"I don't want to see him again."

"You are quite right. I know him and he is capable of ruining you."

"Oh! You will be my protector!"

In speaking thus Marcoline assumed so supplicating and at the same time so voluptuous an attitude that the blood rushed to my head. However, I did not forget the laws of decency and all that I did to reassure her had a paternal character. As I continued to give her the wisest counsels on what she had to do, and amongst other things, that she should return to her family, she regarded me with an air which I interpreted as a secret reproach. It became evident to me that it was an invitation to change my manner of speaking;

Venice, for I won't stop any longer with this rascal to whom I listened, like the fool I was, and who turned my head with his lying tales. . . . I curse the hour when I first saw the miserable wretch. He's a beggarly knave, always whining like he preaches. He wanted to enjoy his rights as my husband when we got to Padua but I am thankful to say I gave him nothing. I wanted to see first this marriage at Geneva he had promised me. Here is the writing he gave me; take it, and do what you like with it. But if you have any heart, send me back to Venice or I will tramp there on foot."

I had listened to this long tirade standing up, without interrupting her. . . .

"Calm yourself, my child," said I. . . . "Take up your things and follow me."

"Where are you going to take her?" asked the foolish priest.

"To my own house, and I should advise you to hold your tongue. Here take these twenty sequins and buy yourself some clean clothes and linen, and give those rags of yours to the beggars. I will come and talk to you tomorrow, and you may thank your stars that you found me here. As for you, Mdlle., I will have you conducted to my lodging, for Genoa must not see you in my company after arriving here with a priest.

in the twinkling of an eye I was at her knees. I will not go into the kinds of assurances I gave her or the promises I made; they will be found in a hundred other places in these memoirs. *We forgot during several hours that my brother might return at any instant and surprise us; but the dear abbé had disappeared with my purse not to come back again.*

In the evening I had Marcoline brought to my hotel, which did not appear to offend my niece.

We must not have any scandal. I shall place you under the charge of my landlady, but whatever you do don't tell her this sad story. I will see that you are properly dressed, and that you want for nothing."

"May heaven reward you!"

My brother astonished at the sight of the twenty sequins, let me go without a word. I had the fair Venetian taken to my lodging in a sedan-chair, and putting her under the charge of my landlady I told the latter to see that she was properly dressed without any delay. . . .

. . .

When Annette had put her mistress to bed, she came in and surprised us together.

"Go to bed, my dear," I said.

"I will come to you directly."

Proud of the Venetian being made aware that she was my mistress, she gave me a fiery kiss and went away without a word.

I began to talk about my brother, and passing from him to myself I told her of the interest she had inspired in me at first sight, and all that I was ready to do for her, saying that I would either have her taken to Venice, or bring her with me when I went to France.

"Do you want to marry me?"

"No, I am married already."

"That's a lie, I know, but it doesn't matter. Send me back to Venice, and the sooner the better.

I don't want to be anyone's concubine."

"I admire your sentiments, my dear, they do you honor."

Continuing my praise I became pressing, not using any force, but those gentle caresses which are so much harder for a woman to resist than a violent attack. Marcoline laughed, but seeing that I persisted, in spite of her closing to me all routes, she suddenly glided out of the bed and took refuge in my niece's room and locked the door after her.

Now it must be said that this is very much of a Macedonian salad, but it is nevertheless possible of digestion. The concordance between the two texts appears as follows, the Busoni text, which has been collated with the Laforge text, being italicized:

On the Tuesday in Holy Week I was just getting up, when Clairmont came to tell me that a priest who would not give his name, wanted to speak to me. I went out in my night-cap, and the rascally priest rushed at me and nearly choked me with his embraces. I did not like so much affection, and as I had not recognized him at first on account of the darkness of the room, I took him by the arm and led him to the window. It was my youngest brother, a good-for-nothing fellow, whom I had always disliked. I had not seen him for ten years, but I cared so little about him that I had not even inquired whether he were alive or dead in the correspondence I maintained with M. de Bragadin, Dandolo and Barbaro.

As soon as his silly embraces were over, I coldly asked him what chance had brought him to Genoa in this disgusting state of dirt, rags and tatters. He was only twenty-nine, his complexion was fresh and healthy, and he had a splendid head of hair. He was a posthumous son, born like Mahomet, three months after the death of his father.

"If I were to recount, my dear brother, the story of my misfortunes it would be long. Take me into your room, and I will sit down and tell you the whole story."

...

"No, wait for me here. We will go somewhere where you can tell me your story, if I have the patience to listen to it. But don't tell any of my people that you are my brother, for I am ashamed to have such a relation. Come, take me to the place where you are staying."

"I must tell you that at my inn I am not alone, and I want to have a private interview with you."

"Who is with you?"

"I will tell you presently, but let us go into a coffee house."

"But I want to know whether you are in company with a band of brigands? What are you sighing at?"

"I must confess it, however painful it may be to my feelings. I am with a woman."

"What sir, some more pranks? You have no shame with that priestly garb? You have seduced her no doubt?"

"Ah, my brother, you must not scold me. I respect her and will respect her always. I was blinded by love, and seduced by my senses and her beauty, so I seduced her under a promise to marry her at Geneva. I can never go back to Venice, for I took her away from her father's house."

"What could you do at Geneva? They would expel you after you had been there three days. Come, we will go to the inn and see the woman you have deceived. I will speak to you alone afterwards. *It is some adventuress, I wager.*"

"Innocence itself, sixteen years, a real madonna in flesh and bones; she is there (and he pointed out a neighboring house) without resources, without food, or clothing."

"I am ready to assist her through pity for her."

"I am convinced of that."

"Quick, let us go."

I began to trace my steps in the direction he had pointed out, and he was obliged to follow me. As soon as we got to the inn, he went on in front and after climbing three flights of stairs I entered a wretched den where I saw a tall, very young girl, a pretty and piquant brunette, who looked proud and not in the least confused, *although miserably poor and almost naked.*

"We are saved," the abbé cried out to her. "It's my brother."

She glanced at me, half smiling, half blushing, and at that moment my heart was hers. Without any greeting she said:

"Are you the brother of this liar and monster who had deceived me so abominably?"

"Yes, my beautiful lady," I replied, "I have that honor."

[The text follows that of Laforgue as already given to:]

"Where are you going to take her," asked the foolish priest.

"To my own house, and I should advise you to hold your tongue. *It is not proper for her to remain here.*" *Either through ignorance or from some other motive, M. the abbé had installed his love in a disreputable house.* "Here, take these twenty sequins and buy yourself some clothes . . ." etc., etc. (the text following that of Laforgue).

When Annette had put her mistress to bed, she came in and surprised us together.

"Go to bed, my dear," I said, "I will come to you directly."

Proud of the Venetian being made aware that she was my mistress, she gave me a fiery kiss and went away without a word.

I began to talk about my brother. "*You were unaware then that he is in orders?*"

"*He is a monster.*"

"*And that you are not the first to whom he has given such a written engagement?*"

"*I don't want to see him again.*"

"*You are quite right. I know him and he is capable of ruining you.*"

In speaking thus Marcoline assumed so supplicating and at the same time so voluptuous an attitude that the blood rushed to my head. However, I did not forget the laws of decency and all that I did to reassure her had a paternal character. Passing from my brother to myself I told her of the interest she had inspired in me at first sight, and all that I was ready to do for her, saying that I would either have her taken to Venice, or bring her with me when I went to France.

"Do you want to marry me?"

"No, I am married already."

"That's a lie, I know, but it doesn't matter. Send me back to Venice, and the sooner the better. I don't want to be anyone's concubine."

"I admire your sentiments, my dear, they do you honor."

As I continued to give her the wisest counsels on what she had to do, and among other things, that she should return to her family, she regarded me with an air which I interpreted as a secret reproach. It became evident to me that it was an invitation to change my manner of speaking; in the twinkling of an eye I was at her knees. I will not go into the kinds of assurances I gave her or the promises I made; they will be found in a hundred other places in these memoirs.

I became pressing, not using any force, but those gentle caresses which are so much harder for a woman to resist than a violent attack. Marcoline laughed, but seeing that I persisted, in spite of her closing to me all routes, she suddenly glided out of bed and took refuge in my niece's room and locked the door after her.

If it be kept in mind that the Busoni text is a juxtaposition of original text, sometimes connected together with extraneous interpolated material and sometimes with no links whatever, the task of marrying the Busoni text to the Laforgue text becomes very much easier.

In the *Sirène* edition of the *Memoirs*, the editor finds three episodes of the Busoni text in flagrant contradiction with the Laforgue text, namely the meeting again after nine years between Casanova and Madame de R* at Lugano, the Viscioletta episode at Bologna, and that with Leah and Rachel at Ancona.

Of these three episodes, that of Madame de R* has been undoubtedly tampered with by Paulin's copyist. The renewal of Casanova's intrigue with her at Lugano, as represented in the Paulin edition, is obviously apocryphal.

First of all, this account is in direct contradiction with the Laforgue text which represents Casanova as regulating his conduct with Madame de R* in a manner he might not otherwise have done, owing to her reference to his having aged, which he accepted as an intimation that she was not disposed to renew their guilty love.

It is evident that the copyist has interpolated part, if not all, of the following passage:

As soon as he had left Mme de * threw herself around my neck. I could not but be touched by this striking mark of remembrance that she gave me after an absence of ten years! If the reader recalls the sad circumstances which accompanied our separation he can imagine with what voluptuous pleasure our reunion was sealed.

"Why, divine friend," I said to her, "have you not procured me this happiness ten years sooner?"

"Because my husband was jealous."

"And he is no longer?"

"Not of you at any rate; your previous prudent conduct has dissipated the suspicions that he might have had and the proof is he has left us alone."

This interpolation is patent, not only from its disparity from that given by Laforgue, but also from the fact that it is nothing more nor less than a paraphrase of the last conversation between Casanova and Madame de R* which took place at Soleure *nine*, and not ten, years previous. Here is that conversation which was available to the Paulin copyist in the first eight volumes of the Laforgue edition published between 1826 and 1832:

"Why, divine friend, have you not procured me this happiness when I was in perfect health?"

"Because then my husband suspected that you had disguised yourself as a waiter on my account and that you could not be indifferent to me. Your prudent conduct has dissipated these suspicions. . . ."

Notwithstanding this, we persist in our belief that such interpolations as the foregoing are relatively easy of identification when the two texts of Laforgue and Busoni are brought into juxtaposition, and when it is realized that the Paulin copyist was dealing with a truncated text which, from time to time, he was compelled to expand with a detail here and there, in the effort to provide some necessary transition.

As for the Viscioletta episode, that is easy to reconcile. Casanova, it must be remembered, was in Bologna for eight months, and considering the light character of Viscioletta, it is certainly no stretch of the imagination to believe that she might very well have had an affair both with the young man in religious orders, as described in the Busoni text, and the Vice Papal Legate, Monseigneur Buoncompagni, as recounted by Laforgue.

The most difficult apparent contradiction is that involving the two daughters of Mardocheus, Leah and Rachel. In the Laforgue text there is no mention of Rachel but only of Leah, where

Casanova's love affair with her is given with a wealth of detail. In the Busoni text Casanova does not confine himself to Leah but he has an affair also with her sister, Rachel. The contradiction is more apparent than real.

If the Busoni text is inserted in the Laforgue text after the paragraph reading: "After informing the consul that I could not leave until the end of the month, I went home to dinner, which proved excellent," there is not necessarily any conflict of text at all between the two. Casanova tells us in the Busoni version that he had an affair with both Rachel and Leah and treats the subject in very general terms, and with certain philosophical reflections. In the Laforgue text Rachel is not mentioned, but the account of his love-making with Leah is highly circumstantial. May he not, after the general statement, as found in Busoni, have decided to confine himself to recounting *l'affaire Leah* without the subsequent injection of Rachel into the narrative? It may have been that, as Rachel was such an incidental conquest and he was attracted so much more to Leah than to Rachel, he did not think Rachel worthy of the lengthy development which he gave to Leah, and, having mentioned Rachel in passing, he considered this sufficient. This supposition, moreover, is borne out by the description of the two girls by Casanova, which favors Leah.⁶

Our belief is that far from having been invented by Busoni, or representing material foreign to the text, the three examples which have been cited offer evidence of text which, for one reason or another, was discarded by Laforgue from the original text, and carefully taken in hand by Busoni's intermediary or

⁶ There is another *possible* explanation. We know from a statement made in the past by Brockhaus that in the original manuscript of the *Memoirs* Casanova has presented one chapter in two different versions—which chapter is not known. It is possible that the Busoni version of Leah and her sister, Rachel, represents one of these two, and the Laforgue version, the other, the text involving Leah alone having been selected by Laforgue who discarded the alternative text involving also Rachel. But this is wholly speculative.

agent, to the great but hitherto unappreciated benefit of those devoted to the reconstruction of the integral text of Casanova.

It is submitted that we have in the foregoing essay presented for the first time, so far as is known from an extensive review of literature devoted to Casanova, the only satisfactory clue which may account for the Paulin edition of the *Memoirs*. There is revealed also for the first time how the two texts so admirably complement each other.

Complete collation of the Paulin text with that of Laforgue has brought to light a text of Casanova, comprising the last four volumes of the Laforgue edition, which will be a revelation to all those interested in that remarkable man, and the extraordinary picture he has given us of the times in which he lived. It is believed this collated text approaches more closely to the original than any existing edition has ever done; certainly it gives a savor to that work such as no other text offers.

A new edition of the *Memoirs* is called for. Such a text will incorporate the final four volumes of Laforgue, revived and illuminated by collation with the text of Busoni, and the whole collated with the text of Schutz.⁷ Then we shall at last be face to face, as has never before been possible, and as may never be possible to any greater extent, in the absence of the full original text, with one of the most remarkable personalities of all times, so far as printed records enable us to judge of men.

⁷ A leading French publisher has under active consideration this proposal to bring out an edition of the *Memoirs* in which, for the first time, there would be collated the texts of Laforgue, Schutz, and Busoni. Such an edition would be incomparably superior to any now extant, and would, of course, supersede all previous editions. If the plan comes to fruition the first volume should appear at the end of 1953.
Editor.

Camels in America*

By ALBERT H. GREENLY

JUST prior to the War between the States, an emigrant to the West via the Santa Fe trail, or a hunter in the Southwest, might have seen a camel wandering on the plains, and it would have been no illusion. Camels wandered there some forty or fifty million years ago, in the early Cenozoic era, but man wasn't there to see them. The camels we shall discuss were a bit more modern, having been imported by the army in 1855-1856 in an experiment to substitute them as beasts of burden for mules. At one time there were at least seventy of these animals in Texas. The experiment was perfectly satisfactory to the camels, but not to the soldiers who had been delegated to take care of them. It was tricky business so to pack a camel that the burden would not fall off the next minute. Jefferson Davis, as Secretary of War, was one of the chief advocates of their prospective use by the army. However, with the advent of war in 1861, and Davis's espousal of the Confederacy, the camels fell into disuse, and were finally dispersed. The war may be said to have been the last straw that broke the camel's back.

There is a quite voluminous literature relative to the experiments with camels, which is listed in the bibliography at the end of this article. However, I have discovered some hitherto unreported incidents and facts about the "American" camels, which probably justify a revival of the story.

The first advocate of the use of camels by the army seems to have been Mr. E. F. Miller, of Ipswich, Mass., son of General James Miller, formerly of the army. Mr. Miller wrote Cap-

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tain George H. Crosman, Assistant Quartermaster at Boston, under date of April 21, 1843, on the subject. Captain Crosman forwarded Mr. Miller's letter with one of his own, dated April 26, 1843, to Major General J. S. Jesup, Quartermaster General at Washington.¹ General Jesup evidently did not think well enough of the proposal to discuss it with his superiors. He replied to Captain Crosman under date of May 6, 1843, as follows:

... I am inclined to doubt the propriety of such a measure—matters of that kind can be more safely left to enlightened private enterprise: at all events this is no time for experiments on the part of the Government—the Treasury is too poor to do more than provide for the indispensable wants of the public service.

That settled the matter for the time being, but the idea persisted. In 1848, Major Henry C. Wayne, who had studied the subject, suggested to the War Department and to members of Congress a plan for the importation of camels. Jefferson Davis, who was then chairman of the committee on military affairs of the Senate, became a firm advocate of the plan, and urged its adoption until he resigned from the Senate in the fall of 1851. In the winter of 1852-1853, a definite proposal was made to the committee to import forty camels and ten Arabs to look after them. The proposal was supported by Mr. George R. Gliddon, archaeologist, who had lived for twenty-eight years in the Levant, and had been United States consul at Cairo during eight years of that time.

In March, 1853, Jefferson Davis became President Pierce's Secretary of War, and renewed his advocacy of the use of camels. In his annual report for that year, made to the President in December, he recommended "the introduction of a sufficient number of both varieties of this animal, to test its value and adaptation to our country and our service." The recommendation was based on a paper prepared by Major Wayne, which was liberally

¹ See Appendix.

used in Davis's report. Congress was, however, not convinced and no provision was made. In the meantime, much had been printed on the subject in the newspapers. In 1851, Joseph Warren Fabens wrote a novel, *The Camel Hunt*, in which was described an imaginary expedition to Algeria for the purpose of importing camels into California. A pamphlet, *The Uses of the Camel: Considered with a View to his Introduction into our Western States and Territories*, by the same author, was published in 1865. Charles Mason, Commissioner of Patents, issued a long report in 1853, in which he thought it feasible to use camels for overland travel. George Perkins Marsh, a distinguished traveller, diplomat, and scientist, lectured before the Smithsonian Institution in the winter of 1854-1855 on the virtues of the camel for the purposes of military transportation. This was later expanded into a book, *The Camel, His Organization, Habits and Uses, Considered with Reference to His Introduction into the United States*, published in Boston in 1856. The use of camels commercially for trade and travel in the West was so favorably considered by some New York capitalists that they formed a corporation, The American Camel Company, for which the State of New York issued a charter in 1854.

John Russell Bartlett, whom President Taylor had appointed in 1850 to represent the United States on the Mexican Boundary Commission, strongly urged the use of camels in the Southwest. Edward F. Beale, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in California, and Gwinn Harris Heap headed an expedition from Missouri to California in 1853. The journal of this trip, kept by Heap, was published in Philadelphia the next year. He had lived for many years in Asia and Africa and was familiar with the habits and uses of camels. In an appendix to his journal, he states his reasons for believing the animal could be successfully used in the American Southwest.

So, in his report for 1854, Jefferson Davis, as Secretary of War, again recommended favorable action by Congress as follows:

The means of transportation have, in some instances, been improved, and it is hoped further developments and improvements will still diminish this large item of our army expenditure. In this connexion, waiving other considerations, I again invite attention to the advantages to be anticipated from the use of camels and dromedaries for military and other purposes, and, for the reasons set forth in my last annual report, recommend that an appropriation be made to introduce a small number of the several varieties of this animal, to test their adaptation to our country.

There was still skepticism in the committee that prepared the annual army appropriation bill, for when it came to the Senate there was no provision for camels. An amendment was offered by Senator Shields, of Illinois, appropriating \$30,000 "to be expended under the direction of the War Department in the purchase and importation of camels and dromedaries to be employed for military purposes." In the House, the amendment was supported by Phelps, of Missouri, and McDougall, of California. The bill, as amended, was passed and became law in March, 1855. The sheer weight of argument had converted Congress, and now Jefferson Davis got busy again on this pet scheme of his. On May 10, 1855, Major Henry C. Wayne, of Washington, was assigned to carry out the new law. Lieutenant David D. Porter, of Chester, Pa., was appointed to command an expedition to the Levant to purchase camels. The Navy store-ship *Supply* was placed at Davis's disposal by the Secretary of the Navy. Major Wayne was to stop in England and France to interview military men about their experiences in the use of camels. The ship, under Lieutenant Porter, sailed from New York June 3, 1855, direct to Spezia, Italy, where Wayne joined it July 24. It sailed the next day for Tunis via Naples, where it arrived August 4. Here Gwinn Harris Heap, brother-in-law of Porter, and author of the aforementioned journal of a trip from Missouri to California, joined the expedition. He was thirty-eight years old. My investigation has been concerned especially with Heap, and some newly discovered papers of his concerning

the subject of this article.² He was the son of Samuel Davies Heap, who for many years was United States consul at Tunis. His son had, therefore, lived for many years where camels were commonly used and had become familiar with them and their habits. He had accompanied Beale on the 1853 expedition. His father had died at Tunis in October, 1853, and Heap had returned to Tunis. He was a most valuable addition to the party. He was not only familiar with camels, and understood the languages where they were available, but was an artist of no mean ability as his fifteen sketches reproduced in the report of the expedition attest.

They had decided to purchase a camel at Tunis so as to have one on board as long as possible to study the animal and its management. Without the help of Heap's experience, Wayne and Porter purchased a camel, which later developed the itch. When the Bey of Tunis learned that camels were desired, he presented two very fine ones; and so, when the ship sailed, there were three of them aboard. The ship, which sailed August 10, had been elaborately prepared for the transportation of camels. The two animals presented by the Bey also incurred the itch and were disposed of at Constantinople. After a brief stop at Malta, the ship made stops at Smyrna and Salonica, where negotiations were carried on for camels, but none purchased. On October 11, the ship left Salonica for Balaklava in the Crimea to investigate Bactrian, or two-humped camels, which the British had used extensively in their campaigns. No purchases were made. When the ship returned to Constantinople for a brief stay, the Sultan of Turkey offered to present the United States government with some of his best camels. As he would have had to send to the interior for them, and as Wayne and Porter had decided to return to America as soon as possible, the ship sailed for Alexandria November 21, and arrived there November 29.

² These papers are now in the collection of W. J. Holliday, Indianapolis, Ind.

Major Wayne had expected to purchase some camels in Egypt, but when he got there he found that no camels could be exported without permits. During negotiations with the Egyptian government through the American diplomatic representatives, the consul at Cairo, Mr. Edwin De Leon, became offended and Wayne came near getting no camels in Egypt. Upon Major Wayne's arrival in Cairo, he understood there would be no difficulty in obtaining as many camels as they desired. Negotiations began for a permit to export twenty. Reply was received that it was contrary to custom to permit exportation of any camels, but that the viceroy, out of regard for the American government, would permit the exportation of two only. Subsequent negotiations succeeded in having the number increased to four, but Wayne had already purchased five. During the efforts to obtain permission to ship the fifth camel, the viceroy's regard for the American government increased, and he evidently became convinced that he should have been more generous, so he presented six dromedaries. When the ship sailed on January 22, 1856, there were nine Egyptian camels aboard, and the camel originally purchased in Tunis. It might be well here to avoid confusion by explaining that a dromedary is a swift travelling Arabian or one-hump camel. Bactrian camels have two humps and are usually large, heavy animals used principally for carrying burdens. Heap wrote a rather amusing letter to Major Wayne December 27, 1855, at Alexandria, about the negotiations for a permit, which has hitherto been unpublished.³ This letter was evidently the basis for Major Wayne's letter of December 28, 1855, to Jefferson Davis, printed in the report of the Secretary of War, Executive Document No. 62 of the 34th Congress, 3d session.

Up to this time, permission had been received from the Egyptian government to export only four camels, so it was decided that Heap, who was the camel expert, would go ahead to Smyrna and make purchases to complete their cargo. He arrived in

³ See Appendix.

Smyrna about the first of the year. The ship arrived January 30, 1856. During the month that Heap had been in Smyrna before the ship arrived, he had been very successful in obtaining camels, and they were ready to sail for home as soon as packsaddles and covers for the animals were finished. Three Arabs familiar with camels, and two Turks, had been hired to care for the animals. These, with four Americans hired for the purpose, were to attend to them under the direction of Albert Ray, who had served in the Mexican war, and had enlisted with Lieutenant Porter for this purpose. In contrast to present-day practices, Major Wayne advised the Secretary of War from Smyrna that of the \$20,000 turned over to him in May, 1855, for the purchase of camels, \$12,000 would remain unexpended after paying all expenses of the trip. Lieutenant Porter had the idea of taking a camel to Washington to exhibit to Congress, but, due to the danger to the animal in being transported to and from Washington, the plan was abandoned.

They sailed for home February 15, 1856, with 33 camels, old and young. The voyage was a stormy one and well tested the feasibility of importing camels. During the voyage, one camel died in calving. Six calves were born, of which four died, so that on arrival in Texas there were 34, one more than they started with. The officers, while at sea, were busy preparing reports. Heap prepared the letter dated at sea, April 25, 1856, which is printed in the report of the Secretary of War previously referred to. The original draft of the letter is with Heap's papers which I have examined. An interesting paragraph pertaining to the use of donkeys as leaders of camel caravans was omitted when the letter was printed in the government report.⁴ Also during the voyage, Heap prepared an elaborate plan for a project for the employment of dromedaries in transporting mail and express matter across the plains to California and Oregon. It is of considerable importance as embodying the views of the man

⁴ See Appendix.

who was most familiar with camels as to what use could be made of them in the United States. The cost of transporting army supplies to and between the far western posts had rapidly increased, and improved transportation facilities were imperative. There was talk all during the 1850's of building a transcontinental railroad, but although this were accomplished, the need of improved auxiliary transportation was urgent. In Heap's opinion, only a steam locomotive could, at that time, exceed the camel's speed. The time required for mail or express to reach the Pacific coast would be very much less than via Panama. The belief was prevalent that camels were used in Africa and Asia only upon dry, sandy and burning deserts. Heap knew from his experience that they were used there in as many different climates, and over as many different terrains as they would be in the United States. In his opinion, mail and light express matter might be transported rapidly, securely and regularly by dromedaries between the following points: Corpus Christi, Texas, and Santa Fe, New Mexico; Independence, Mo., and Santa Fe; Santa Fe and Great Salt Lake City, Utah; Great Salt Lake City and Los Angeles, Calif.; Independence, Mo., and Los Angeles. As representative of all conditions that might be met with, he worked out an elaborate itinerary between Independence and Los Angeles (he had travelled much of this route with Beale in 1853):

First stage, Independence, Mo., to the River Del Norte in the valley of San Luis, New Mexico, 736 miles or 11 days travel. Roubideaux's pass through the Sangre de Christo mountains.

Second stage, San Luis valley to Green River, 387 miles, 6 days travel. Over Coochatopee Pass in Sahwatch Mts. Until the last of April, three rivers to cross. 5½ days travel. Relay station on Green River.

Third stage, From Green River to Cedar City, 256 miles, 4 days travel. Cedar City about 280 miles south of Great Salt Lake.

Fourth stage, Cedar City to Los Angeles via Cajon Pass, 499 miles, 7 days travel.

The total mileage from Independence to Los Angeles was,

according to this, 1878 miles, and could be travelled in 28 days. Heap figured that in all, 60 camels would be required to maintain such a service—ten dromedaries at each of the terminals, Independence and Los Angeles, ten at each of the three relay stations, and ten extra. Were it not for the danger from Indians, Heap figured one rider for each two camels would be sufficient, thus allowing the carriage of more freight. He also set forth a winter route, avoiding mountain trails where snow would obstruct passage. At the end of the proposal, Heap praises the camel's qualities which commended it for the use proposed. He pointed out that the camel is the only domestic animal not found in a wild state. Its patience is remarkable; it has no viciousness which at times makes other beasts of burden so hard to control; and it crouches to the ground to be loaded or unloaded. It, however, has great power which it will use with terrible effect if its patience is exhausted by long abuse.

The ship arrived with its 34 camels off Powder Horn, three miles below Indianola, Texas, on May 1, 1856, but it was not possible to unload the beasts because of the continuous swell in the waters of the gulf. Rough weather continuing to prevent landing at Indianola, the ship proceeded to the mouth of the Mississippi River and on May 10, inside the Southwest Pass, transferred the camels to the steamer *Fashion*, which then proceeded to Powder Horn, where they were unloaded and led to Indianola.

When Major Wayne sent to the Secretary of War Heap's letter of April 25, written at sea, he recommended him as the agent to purchase more camels on a second expedition. Lieutenant Porter arrived with the ship *Supply* in New York on May 28, and on that day sent to Jefferson Davis his long report of the expedition, which occupies thirty-eight pages of the report of the Secretary of War to Congress, Executive Document No. 62. Wayne remained with the camels so that he could supervise the experiments with them. He left Indianola with the herd on June

4, and reached camp on the headwaters of the San Pedro about two miles from San Antonio in two weeks. Finding that the proximity to San Antonio was good for neither his men nor the animals, Wayne moved to the ranch of Major Howard at Medina, about twelve miles from San Antonio. As to where the camels would be permanently kept: this depended largely on the disposition of those already arrived. Major Wayne was of the opinion that the first lot should be established on a breeding farm with a view to first increasing the herd before any extensive experiments were made to ascertain their adaptability to military service. The Quartermaster General, Thomas S. Jesup, to whom the question of housing on a breeding farm had been referred, was not of that mind. He pointed out to Major Wayne that the primary object of the Act of Congress was to establish the adaptability of the camel, and, if this were established, more camels could be imported and attention given to breeding. On July 22, Wayne reported the death of one of the best female animals from Smyrna. Its death had evidently been caused by mistreatment by one of the Arab herders, and on August 4 he had to report the death from an unknown cause of one of the female dromedaries presented by the viceroy of Egypt.

A patriotic lady, Mrs. Mary A. Shirkey, of Victoria, Texas, not far from Indianola, through which the camels had passed en route to San Antonio, had obtained some camel's wool which had been clipped because of the heat. From it she had spun yarn and had knit a pair of socks for the President. What President Pierce thought of the socks is not known. They were evidently pretty coarse, for in a letter which the lady wrote Major Wayne when sending the socks, she said she had spun yarn and knit one sock, which she found too coarse. She then spun some finer yarn from which the socks were knit that went to the President.

After considerable investigation for the establishment of a permanent camp, Major Wayne decided upon Camp Verde, about 60 miles northwest of San Antonio. The camels arrived

there August 26. In a few days, six were sent to San Antonio for oats in company with three wagons from the post, each drawn by six mules. The camels could easily have made the trip in two days, but were delayed by the wagons, which took three days from lack of water along the route. On the return, the camels left San Antonio at noon, September 1, with 3648 lbs. of oats, an average of 608 lbs. per animal. The camels were back in camp at 6 P.M. on September 3, having travelled leisurely and with less load than they could easily have carried. The wagons left San Antonio at noon, September 2, and arrived in camp at 12:30 P.M., September 6, the wagons carrying only 3700 lbs. between them, and requiring 42½ hours more time than the camels. Other experiments demonstrated the practicability of using camels as a mode of transportation in the army. The herd remained at Camp Verde during the winter and such experiments as were possible were made to determine their usefulness to the army. In March, 1857, there was a change of administration and Jefferson Davis was succeeded as Secretary of War by John B. Floyd, Buchanan's appointee. Floyd was to continue the experiments with the camels, but the project had lost its staunchest friend with Davis.

In the meantime, the second expedition to obtain more camels was under way. Lieutenant Porter, still in command of the ship *Supply*, accompanied by Heap, sailed from New York early in July, 1856. After a very stormy voyage, they arrived at Spezia, Italy, about September 11. It was intended to obtain ten camels in Egypt, and it was thought this could be done by the use of the permit formerly issued by the viceroy, use of which by the first expedition was impossible because of the delay in its issuance. Secretary Davis therefore wrote the consul general at Alexandria, Mr. Edwin De Leon, who had felt that he had been slighted by Major Wayne on the first expedition, asking his assistance. He replied under date of August 14, 1856, in part as follows:

When I obtained from the viceroy of Egypt the temporary suspension of the rigid prohibition of the exportation of animals from his dominions, it was distinctly stated and understood that it was to be regarded as an act of international courtesy for this special occasion only, and not again to be demanded, for reasons which will be obvious to you, and which I have already explained. The order which Lieutenant Porter retains is therefore valueless now, nor could I in good faith ask for its renewal.

The viceroy has promised to give the necessary firmans to the local authorities authorizing the passage through Egypt, and the embarkation at Alexandria, of as many animals as we may purchase from the Hedjaz, or elsewhere beyond his limits.

That was a rather supercilious letter for a representative of our government to write to a cabinet officer. He had evidently not recovered from his umbrage. Lieutenant Porter received a copy of the letter at Spezia. He figured that to obtain ten camels in Arabia would require 2000 miles travel and three months' time, and would cost \$7540, which he thought too much to pay for ten camels. Furthermore, it would delay the return to America too long. He so reported to Secretary Davis, and went ahead with his plan to obtain all necessary camels in Asia Minor to be exported from Smyrna. Heap proceeded to Smyrna to purchase the camels before the ship arrived. While he was there, he wrote an interesting letter to his brother-in-law, Lieutenant Porter, who was still in Italy. It is dated October 19, 1856. He had that day received an order from the sultan for six camels, which were being presented to our government. He had already purchased 20, making a total of 26. He told Porter that if he arrived in Smyrna before Heap returned from his trip to the interior, Porter would find these camels in the same camel-yard that they had used the previous winter. He intended purchasing 14 more on a trip to the interior, accompanied by a Mr. Cohen, whom the Pasha sent with him. He expected to be back in Smyrna by the end of October. The prices of camels were much higher than the previous year, but, said he, "I think you will find those in the Khan a much finer lot than the last. I have had the devil's

own time in getting them." When he went to the interior, he left the camels in charge of an Italian, "in whose intelligence I have no great reliance, nor can I vouch for his honesty tho Mr. Affley recommends him highly—moreover he drinks and has a weakness for the beau sexe. With all these faults he is the best person I could find, and such as he is, has nearly set me wild at times." A saddler was making packsaddles for the camels. He was paid 360 piasters (about \$13.50) each for saddle, cover, etc., complete. He requested Porter to attend to some personal matters for him at Smyrna, because he said that on his return he would "go on board at once if not sooner," if he saw the *Supply* in the harbor. To encourage the Pasha to generous dealing in the matter of the six camels he was to present on behalf of the sultan, he was presented with two rifles, which he was told were brought out as a gift from the U. S. government. They no doubt facilitated the selection of good beasts.

Lieutenant Porter with the ship arrived at Smyrna about November 14, 1856, and found that Heap had returned from the interior and had all the animals purchased, fully equipped with new saddles, covers, etc., ready to load. There were 44 camels to be loaded. They sailed from Smyrna November 16, and immediately encountered terrible weather at sea. After passing Malta, the ship was driven back by gales and had to put into that port on December 1. Lieutenant Porter said in his report that he had never before experienced such weather at sea. However, all the camels were in excellent condition. It had been necessary to keep them strapped down in a kneeling position most of the time from Smyrna to Malta. Porter was dubious about having undertaken a winter voyage home, but he thought Secretary Davis would be gratified to be able to report before the change of administration in March, that he had successfully imported a total of 80 camels. The day that the ship sailed from Smyrna, Heap began a day-by-day letter to his wife. It gives an excellent picture of the life of a seafaring man, and abounds

in quiet humor. The entry for November 20 reads as follows: "The wind settled this forenoon so we came out of our hiding place and entered the Cerigo passage. This is the island of Cythrea on which Venus landed when she first emerged. It is a poor barren looking spot. What could have induced her to select it, she only can tell. I suppose it was the nearest land and she was anxious to get on shore." On January 30, 1857, Lieutenant Porter reported to Jefferson Davis the arrival of his ship at the mouth of the Mississippi, and the fact that three camels had died during the voyage. Major Wayne had arranged for Mr. Ray, the overseer of the camels, to meet the ship there with the steamer *Swanée*, transfer the animals, and proceed with them to Indianola, where the 41 camels were landed on February 10, 1857. From there they were taken to Camp Verde to join those brought over by the first expedition. Porter's and Heap's services were completed with the delivery of the camels to Mr. Ray. After making reports to the quartermaster general and the Secretary of War of his experiences with the first lot of camels, Major Wayne reported to the Secretary of War at Washington, and his connection with the camels evidently ceased. In his report to the quartermaster general February 12, 1857, after submitting a project for the future management of the camels, he expressed his entire satisfaction with the experiment thus far. The successful transportation of these animals from Asia and Africa had been demonstrated, and their acclimation had, in his opinion, been successful. He thought the matter of breeding, and the establishment of a strong herd, would require some time. He said, "I would respectfully suggest, therefore, that the camels imported have a fixed home for three or four years, at least, at some point on the frontier where they could be carefully tended, and from which they may be used from time to time in transportation and scouting. The point at which they are now established presents excellent opportunities for all the requirements of the experiment, and particularly for comparison

with the ordinary means of transportation through an arid and broken country, with range of service embracing journeys of from sixty to six hundred miles. I recommend, then, that they be kept where they are." That was evidently done, and, in accordance with his further recommendation, the experiment was continued under military discipline. Major Wayne had thought that necessary. His observation and experience with civil employees in Texas had satisfied him that the successful accomplishment of the experiment could be attained only by the rigidity of military responsibility. In his report to the Secretary of War, Wayne told of an interesting experiment he made while the camels were yet at Indianola. Needing hay at the camel yard, he had directed one of the men to take a camel to the quartermaster's forage house, and bring four bales. Desirous of seeing what effect it would produce upon the public mind, he mingled in the crowd that gathered around the camel as it came into town. When the camel was made to kneel to receive its load, and two bales, weighing in all 613 lbs., were packed on, he heard doubts expressed that the animal could rise under them. When two more bales were put on, making the gross weight of the load 1256 lbs., there were positive assertions that the camel would not be able to rise, much less carry the load. There was great surprise when the beast rose easily and walked off with the load, and the event was chronicled in verse in the local newspaper.

There remains to relate what use was made of the camels after their establishment at Camp Verde, Texas. Edward Fitzgerald Beale, a former lieutenant in the navy, had been selected by Secretary of War John B. Floyd to superintend the survey of a wagon road from Fort Defiance, N.M., to the Colorado River, along the 35th parallel, in which the camels were to be tried out. Beale, who was then Superintendent of Indian Affairs in California, had headed the expedition from Missouri to California in 1853, of which Gwinn Harris Heap was a member, and whose journal of the expedition was published in 1854. At

the time the party was being organized, Beale was visiting in his old home, Chester, Pa., where Heap and Porter also lived. The young fellows of their families were all keen, naturally, to accompany the party. Dr. James Porter's son, Hampden, and Heap's son, David, were invited to go along, as well as two of their young friends, Joseph Bell and May Humphreys Stacey. Stacey kept a journal of the trip, which is reprinted in *Uncle Sam's Camels*, by Lewis B. Lesley. His journal corresponds with Beale's own report contained in H. R. Executive Document No. 124, 35th Congress, 1st session.

The party left Philadelphia May 12, 1857. They reached Indianola, Texas, June 5, and on the seventh started for Chocolate River. When the expedition got under way on June 12, young Heap took charge of the train in the absence of Beale and a Mr. Smith, who was second in command. They came to a stream in a deep valley. After Heap had passed it successfully with the light wagons and had gone on, assuming that the rest of the wagons could cross without difficulty, two wagons had had difficulty getting over a hill. This had exasperated Beale, and on his arrival at camp, he was in a very bad humor, and in a fit of temper accused young Heap of negligence. Heap was offended by what was apparently an unjust accusation and resigned, much to the sorrow of his young friends.

The Colorado River was reached October 17. The advance guard had some interference from Indians, who were evidently bent on making the best bargains they could for supplies which the expedition needed, rather than having any warlike intentions. Beale had been told that camels would not swim, and the problem therefore confronted him of how to get them across the river. The first one brought to the water refused to go in, but the second took to the water without any trouble, and the whole herd was soon successfully swum to the other side. The expedition proceeded across the Mojave Desert to Fort Tejon, about forty miles south of Bakersfield. Beale, while he was Indian

agent for California, had acquired a ranch near Fort Tejon, and to this ranch the camels were taken. Beale, himself, followed the trail through Cajon Pass from the Colorado River to Los Angeles with two camels, where, according to newspaper reports, they arrived on November 10 and remained two days. When Beale arrived at his ranch, he placed some camels high up in the mountains to test their ability to withstand cold, snow and ice. They thrived. Beale planned, after crossing the Colorado River, to send young Stacey and three others down the Colorado to Fort Yuma to ascertain if the river were navigable all the way, but the plan was abandoned and Stacey went on with Beale to Tejon, where he spent several weeks before leaving for home, via San Francisco, whence he sailed around the Horn.

Beale remained at his ranch until about January 1, 1858, when he started on the return trip with about 14 camels, via Los Angeles, where they were paraded. All the camels except the 14 Beale had with him were left at Tejon, but there appears no record of how many. During the summer, eight camels were sent to Los Angeles for provisions. From Cajon Pass, Beale was accompanied to the Colorado River, which was reached January 23, by Major Blake and one hundred soldiers. They returned to San Bernardino from the river, and with them the 14 camels were returned to Tejon. At the river, Beale was delightfully surprised to find the steamer *General Jesup* awaiting his arrival to take his party across. The first steamboat to navigate the Colorado this far north, it was a side-wheeler, 104 feet long. While it was evidently capable of transporting the animals, they were, for some reason, swum across. (Later the same year, the boat struck a submerged rock and sank.) The party then proceeded via the road they had made the last summer on the way west, and were pleased to find it so well marked by constant use by the Indians. At the camp just east of Zuni, Beale parted with Sergeant Armstrong and the soldiers who had been with him during the expedition. They went north to Fort Defiance. Beale and

his party continued to the Gallo just west of Laguna, N. M., where his new road intersected the older Fort Defiance road. They reached here on February 21, 1858, and here the expedition ended where it had started August 21, 1857. In his report, Beale said, "I have tested the value of the camels, marked a new road to the Pacific, and travelled 4000 miles without an accident." Beale had a keen sense for the beauties of nature. He had gone to within a few miles of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River without knowing of its existence, apparently. He remarked about the beautiful forests of sugar pines in the area of Flagstaff, Ariz. He had passed through the area of the Petrified Forest near Holbrook, Ariz., and commented in his report on the ground being strewn with pieces of petrified wood, and about his seeing sections of petrified trees three feet in diameter. He apparently missed the meteor crater west of Winslow. Of the Indian pueblo of Zuni in western New Mexico, he said, "As we approached, cornfields of very considerable extent spread out on all sides, and apparently surrounded the town. This place contains a population of about two thousand souls; the houses, although nearly all have doors on the ground floor, are ascended by ladders, and the roof is more used than any other part. Here all the cooking is done, the idle hours spent, and is the place used for sleeping in summer. Each house or family has a little garden, rarely over 30 feet square, which is surrounded by a wall of mud. Inside of these, and completely encircling the town, are the corals [*sic*] for sheep, asses, and horses, which are always driven up at night. We saw here many Albinos, with very fair skins, white hair, and blue eyes. The Indians raise a great deal of wheat, of a very fine quality, double-headed. The squaws are more expert at carrying things on their heads than our southern negroes. I saw one ascend to the second story of a house by a ladder, with an earthen jar containing a full bucket of water, without touching it with her hands. It is quite amusing to see the men knitting stockings. Imagine Hiawatha at such undignified

work. The old Jesuit church is in ruins; but a picture over the altar attracted our attention from the beauty of four small medallion paintings at each corner, which were very beautifully done. After much rubbing off the mud and dust we made out that it was painted by Miguel somebody in 1701. White intercourse (traders) with these Indians seems to have destroyed with them all the respect they had for the Catholic religion, without giving them any in return. . . ." Beale particularly admired the country around Inscription Rock or El Moro. He said, "It rises grandly from the valley, and tall pines growing at its base give out long before they reach the top of its precipitous face. Inscriptions, names, and hieroglyphics cover the base, and among the names are those of the adventurous and brave Spaniards who first penetrated and explored this country, with dates as far back as 1620. The race has long ago passed away, and left no representative of Spanish blood behind them. Those with us looked with listless indifference at the names of the great men of their nation, and who had made it famous centuries ago, cut by themselves upon this rock, and turned off to take charge of the mules, which is about all even the best of them are fit for." He also visited the Mesa Acoma, on whose summit there were ancient ruins, but which now bears an inhabited Indian pueblo.

Beale went to Washington and made his report to Secretary of War Floyd on April 26, 1858. While there, he was asked to make another survey from Fort Smith, Ark., west to connect with the road surveyed on the previous expedition. This expedition lasted from October 28, 1858, to July 30, 1859. He not only surveyed the road from Fort Smith to Albuquerque, but reconnoitered the road he had surveyed the previous year west thereof, making such improvements as he thought necessary. At Fort Smith, before starting, he had tried to hire as guides a Delaware Indian, Black Beaver, and a Cherokee half-breed, Jesse Chisholm, for whom the Chisholm Trail is named, but they would not go because of the warlike attitude of the Comanche

Indians. Beale, himself, went on to Fort Arbuckle where these men were, and persuaded them to go along. Many times in his report, Beale extols the advantages of his route, and especially that part of it along the Canadian River, as the best route for a transcontinental railroad. The Rock Island Railroad from Little Rock, Ark., to Tucumcari, N. M., took advantage of it. Beale spent the month of January, 1859, on official business at Santa Fe and visited his old friend, Kit Carson, at Taos. At a camp near where Flagstaff, Ariz., now is, the camels reappeared on the scene. The party was encamped in an extensive prairie where Beale had all hands working on the improvement of a spring. While at this work, two camels were seen approaching from the west. Beale recognized the white camel of his previous expedition. The men with them were S. A. Bishop, Beale's partner, and Ali Hadji, the camel driver. Beale had sent one of his men on ahead to California to advise that he was taking with him provisions to last only until he reached the Colorado River, and that he would expect to be met there by troops and provisions. The previous August, Indians had attacked the emigrant party at the Colorado River in which John Udell was travelling with his family to California. In Mr. Rose's train eight were killed and thirteen wounded. Because of this tragedy, the whole party was forced to abandon much valuable property and retreat to Albuquerque. There they had remained until Beale's party arrived the following spring, when they accompanied him to the Colorado River. In connection with the Udell incident, a great bibliographical rarity has recently been discovered. Until this discovery, Udell's journal published at Jefferson, Ohio, in 1868, was supposed to be the first publication of Udell's story, but a copy has come to light of a pamphlet printed nine years earlier, and only a year after the massacre at the Colorado River, and right after Udell arrived in California. The pamphlet was printed at Suisun City, Cal., by the Solano County *Herald*, in 1859. It is now in the Coe collection at Yale. The text is virtually the

same as the Jefferson pamphlet. This discovery is of great importance, for it shows that Udell's story was published practically contemporaneously with the events.

Bishop had learned that troops could not be at the river in time for Beale's arrival. He therefore had fitted out an expedition with forty frontiersmen, and boldly marched to the river. There he was met by a thousand Indian warriors with assurance bred of their recent successful attacks on emigrants and troops, but their assurance was met with valor, and the Indians were completely routed. They were so intimidated that Bishop crossed the river and defiantly occupied their village for several days, and then came on to meet Beale. Four men with eastbound mail had been making fruitless attempts for almost a year to get past the Indians without success. They joined Bishop's party west of the Colorado, and the camels brought the mail, which was delivered to Mr. Smith, the agent, travelling west with Beale's party, who returned east with it. The westbound mail was transferred and carried west on Beale's camels. Thus the first mail via the route along the 35th parallel was carried both eastbound and westbound by camels. Because of the warlike attitude of the Mojave Indians, Beale expected trouble with them as he approached the Colorado. On April 28, while encamped at Saavedras spring, about forty miles from the river, the Indians stole a mule and shot another, which shortly died. They expected, of course, after Beale had left, to return for the dead mule to use as meat. So here Beale played what he called a "merrie jeste of ye white man and ye Indian." About sundown he caused the mules to be hitched up, and the camp was left in as much apparent confusion as possible, to give the impression that it had been hurriedly abandoned because of the Indians. On leaving after dark, when the Indians could not see what was done, some men were left concealed among the rocks. When the Indians arrived after daylight to get the dead mule and see what other damage they had done, the men fell upon them and killed four, returning to

camp before the morning start with bows, arrows, and scalps as vouchers. (Some merry joke!) At the last camp before reaching the river, preparations were made to give the Mojaves a good beating in the morning. Beale left camp early with thirty-five men well armed and on foot with three camels packed with provisions. The camels, unlike mules, would need no guarding, as they will feed well tied up to a bush. They marched the twenty-five miles in six hours. While the men were hunting for Indians, four white men came up the trail, and informed Beale that Colonel Hoffman had made a treaty with the Indians; so Beale called in his men, much to their disappointment and disgust. When Beale reached the Colorado on May 1, 1859, he found the army had appropriated the provisions cached there for him, and so he was obliged to go to Fort Tejon for provisions. He left most of his party in camp at the river, where the army camp under Major Armistead was also established. Beale, probably accompanied by Bishop and his men, and the camels which Bishop had left at the river, departed for Tejon May 4, and Beale and Bishop were back at the river on June 26 with provisions. The reports are not clear as to the number of camels Bishop brought with him from Fort Tejon; how many he had with him when he met Beale; nor how many returned to Fort Tejon with Beale for provisions. No mention is made in Beale's report of camels on the trip from Fort Tejon, but in the contemporaneous diary kept by F. E. Engle, Beale's assistant, of the east-bound trip from the Colorado river to Albuquerque, camels and a camel train are mentioned several times, thus proving that camels did accompany the expedition back to Albuquerque. It appears also from Engle's diary that Bishop returned from Albuquerque to Fort Tejon with the camels, as well as wagons and supplies that were left in charge of Mr. Renfroe at the first camp east of the river.

In the vicinity of Floyd's Peak, which is near where Seligman, Ariz., now stands, Engle mentioned cedar trees with bark of

the white oak in great numbers, which, when full grown, were two or three feet in diameter, and whose first branches were twenty feet from the ground. These were probably the beautiful sugar pines which grow in that region. Beale says that in the same locality "I found growing in the valley . . . some fine mint. I had brought but one bottle of brandy with us, intending to keep it for fear of a rattlesnake bite, but the temptation was too strong; so, gathering a handful or two of the mint, we returned to camp and manufactured the first mint julep ever drank at Floyd's Peak." Albuquerque was reached July 29, 1859, and there the expedition ended officially. Camels had accompanied it from Flagstaff, Ariz., to the Colorado River; from the river to Fort Tejon and return; and eastbound from the river back to Albuquerque.

The next use made of government camels was with a topographical reconnaissance between the Pecos River and the Rio Grande, in Texas, made by Lieutenant Edward L. Hartz, whose diary of the expedition was published with President Buchanan's message to Congress, December, 1859, and is not mentioned in Wagner-Camp. The expedition started at Camp Hudson, Texas, May 23, 1859, and returned to that point August 7. Lieutenant Hartz was assistant quartermaster for the expedition under Lieutenant W. H. Echols, who the next year was in charge of another expedition for the purpose of opening roads and selecting a site for the establishment of a military post on the Rio Grande. (Echols' diary of that reconnaissance will be referred to later.) Under date of April 26, Major Vinton, quartermaster at San Antonio, advised Hartz that he was sending to Camp Hudson, presumably from Camp Verde, 24 camels and six drivers. Hartz's diary is a meticulous and comprehensive report of the performance of the camels. He was enthusiastic about them as a means of transportation for military purposes. On July 17, after a most laborious and exhausting march of twenty-seven miles over the most difficult country he had yet traversed, he

said, "The patience, endurance, and steadiness which characterize the performance of the camels during this march is beyond praise, and when compared with the jaded and distressed appearance of the mules and horses, established for them another point of superiority." At the end of his report he summarized their performance. They had successfully traversed all kinds of difficult terrain. They had gone without water frequently two or three days—in one case almost five days. Their food requirements were much less than for a horse or mule. They travelled continuously from 5:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M. for distances up to thirty-four miles without any bad effects. He says further, "With the horses and mules the case is different, notwithstanding a quantity of water was carried for them, an allowance of three gallons a day, which, though not sufficient, is believed to have been the means of saving several valuable animals to the government; though more time was allowed them to feed than could be allowed the camels; and that, as a general thing, over the severer parts of mountainous and rugged districts, they did not carry their riders, but were led or driven, while the camel bore his burden. The loss of several, and the emaciated and jaded condition of many others, shows an inferiority to the camel for this service, and indicates the inhospitality of a country which refuses those most common of free gifts, a sufficiency of water and grass, and protects itself from invasion by an abattis [*sic*] of thorns, through which the camel only can cut a passage and sustain his life." On June 23, Hartz records that one of the female camels was bitten by a rattlesnake. The wound was immediately scarified, some liquid ammonia rubbed in it, and then bound up. In the evening, the wound was examined and there were no symptoms to indicate that the camel would not recover.

The next year, 1860, Lieutenant Echols, who was in command of the expedition which Lieutenant Hartz's diary covers, made another reconnaissance of the country between the El Paso road and the Rio Grande, from Camp Stockton to Fort Davis,

in Texas. Robert E. Lee was then in command at San Antonio, and he sent Echols' report to the Adjutant General at Washington under date of October 18, 1860. It was published with President Buchanan's annual message to Congress for 1860, and it also is not mentioned in Wagner-Camp. Echols left San Antonio June 11, 1860, with 31 men, 20 camels and 15 mules, with herders and camel attendants for Camp Hudson, from which place they set out on June 24 to discover a shorter and better route from the Pecos River to Fort Davis about 50 miles east of the Rio Grande. During the first five days the party travelled 120 miles, and there was much suffering from want of water. The result might have been disastrous but for the water the camels carried, although they received none to drink. A good deal of declivitous country was traversed. Where the ascents were very steep, the camels walked on their front knees in order to keep the center of gravity of their loads properly distributed between their four legs. The party left Fort Davis on July 14 to search for a suitable site for a military post on the Rio Grande, near the San Carlos crossing, and the establishment of a road to it.

Echols, like all the other leaders of expeditions in which camels had been used, commended them very highly for the uses to which they had been put, but this was their final use by the army for the purposes for which they had been imported. One of Echols' 20 camels was left at Fort Lancaster. The others were presumably returned to Camp Verde, where there must have finally been, just before the Civil War, a herd of about fifty. In addition to the government camels at Camp Verde, two lots consisting of about 40 camels reached Texas in English ships consigned to an Englishwoman, Mrs. Watson, who had a ranch near Houston. She apparently did not want the camels and refused to pay for them. They were taken to the ranch of F. R. Lubbock, a former governor of Texas, but as they could not be sold, they were eventually turned loose to wander where they

would. While the camels had been highly recommended by all army officers who had used them, and while Secretary Floyd had repeatedly recommended their continued use by the army, Congress soon had a war on its hands, and the camels were forgotten. The animals at Camp Verde fell into the hands of the Confederacy when the camp surrendered February 28, 1861. At the end of the war, when the Federals resumed control of Camp Verde, there were reported to be 66 camels, which the quartermaster ordered sold at auction in 1866. Mr. Bethel Coopwood was the highest bidder, and bought the herd for \$31 each. He drove them south to the Mexican border and established a camel express between Laredo and Mexico City, which was not successful. The poor camels had a hard time of it. They were repeatedly sold or rounded up and again turned loose. Some found their way into circuses or side shows, others were left to wander. So, for many years, there were camels wandering at will on the deserts of the Southwest. It is reported that as recently as 1895 a lot of camels was rounded up and shipped to Chicago for exhibition purposes. The government was not only negligent of its camels, but also of the destinies of the men who had been brought to this country to care for the camels and drive them. They were, like the camels, left to shift for themselves. At Quartzsite, Ariz., a few miles from the Colorado River, the Arizona Highway Commission has erected a stone pyramid to mark the burial site of Hi Jolly, one of the best known of these men, whose army name was Phillip Tedro. The tablet on the pyramid reads:

The last camp of Hi Jolly, born somewhere in Syria, about 1828, died at Quartzsite, Dec. 16, 1903. Came to this country Feb. 10, 1856. Camel driver, packer, scout. Over 30 years a faithful aid to the U. S. government.

Now to return to the camels in California, which we left at Fort Tejon. Edward F. Beale was appointed surveyor general

of California and Nevada in 1861. Twenty camels had been assigned to him by the quartermaster general. In June, 1861, Beale turned back 31 to the quartermaster in California. The animals at Fort Tejon had been used for transporting goods, principally between the fort and Los Angeles. The same year the War Department transferred the troops and camels from Fort Tejon to Camp Fitzgerald in Los Angeles. The use of the camels between Los Angeles and Fort Mojave as a dromedary express was a failure. In 1861, Lieutenant J. C. Ives, who had explored the Colorado River in 1857-1858, led a party from San Diego which proceeded up the river to survey the boundary between California and Nevada. Three camels from Fort Tejon accompanied this party. They were received by Lieutenant Ives at Fort Mojave, and in a letter from Ives published in the San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, in April, 1861, he says, "We packed, on ten mules and three camels, 3500 lbs. in provisions, stores, baggage, and astronomical instruments. 1400 lbs. were packed on the camels—675 lbs. on the male camel, or rather dromedary, old Trola, alone." The survey was abandoned, but the expedition made a reconnaissance of the general area along the border, and frequently in or adjacent to Death Valley. In a fight between camels at Camp Fitzgerald, a large white camel was killed. The bones were sent to Washington, where they were assembled, and the skeleton is now on exhibition at the Smithsonian Institution. From October to December, 1861, Hi Jolly served as dispatch bearer between Los Angeles and Fort Yuma. Beale offered to take all the camels in California to his ranch and care for them until the government wanted them, but the offer was not accepted. After his offer was declined, he bought a few camels from McLenaghan, which he used on his ranch. Fowler, in his book, *Camels in California*, says that Beale's son remembered driving from the ranch at Tejon to Los Angeles with his father in a sulky drawn by a team of camels, which Beale directed in Syrian learned for the purpose. In November, 1863,

the War Department ordered the camels, now 37, sent to Benicia to be sold at auction. On February 26, 1864, they were sold to Samuel McLenaghan for about \$50 each, in greenbacks worth about half that. The camels in California, although complained of by some people as nuisances, had impressed others as the best method of rapid transportation of goods. In May, 1859, the California & Utah Camel Association was organized at Downieville, Calif., but nothing resulted from the organization. Otto Esche of San Francisco imported camels from Asia in 1860-1861 for use over the Sierras to Salt Lake and on other routes. He considered camels from Asia better suited to his purposes, but had very poor success. Out of 90 Bactrian camels imported by him, only 45 survived. Of the first lot arriving in San Francisco July 25, 1860, ten were sold to Julius Bandman after being exhibited in San Francisco for a time. Bandman sent nine of them to Nevada in 1861. They were accompanied by Edward Vischer, who, in 1862, published a book of California views in several of which camels appear, the most interesting view being of camels among the big trees of the Sierras. Twenty-three of Esche's camels were sold to a mining company in British Columbia for use at the gold mines. They arrived in British Columbia in 1862. The experiment proved unsatisfactory, and the camels were eventually turned loose to go where they pleased. Some wandered back to the United States. H. H. Bancroft, in his history of Idaho, says that a camel was used by William Henry in 1864 at the silver mines in Canada just north of the Idaho boundary. This must have been one of the camels turned loose by the other mining company. McLenaghan, who had purchased the camels at Benicia in February, 1864, took ten of them to Sacramento in March, and a camel race was advertised for April 7. The race was pretty much of a fiasco. The camels decided that they didn't propose to have their dignity hurt by racing, and the thing was abandoned. They left Sacramento April 18 for the Nevada mines, where they were used for the same purposes

as the Esche camels which had preceded them, principally to carry salt to the silver mines. The owners of the mules at the Nevada mines objected to the camels, and warned McLenaghan to take them away. In 1865, he and his Syrian camel drivers, Hi Jolly and Greek George, who had come to this country with the first camels imported by the government, drove the camels to Fort Yuma, Ariz., where he hoped to sell them. Near Yuma, McLenaghan died, leaving the drivers with the camels on their hands. They decided to turn them loose on the desert, where they, no doubt, met some of their camel friends from Texas who had met a similar fate.

APPENDIX

Letter from Mr. E. F. Miller, Ipswich, Mass., to Capt. George H. Crosman

Ipswich, Massachusetts, April 21st, 1843.

Capt. Crosman
U. S. A.

Boston,

Dear Sir,

In conversation, some time since, we were discussing the practicability of adding another facility for army transportation, in the southwestern country, in addition to those now in use, by the introduction of the camel; an animal whose services for transportation and other purposes, have always been held in the highest estimation among the nations of the east, although hitherto unused in this country.

It seems to me that these creatures would furnish a most valuable aid to the transportation department if they could be introduced & successfully propagated in the southwest, and although the experiment has not yet been tried that I am aware of, I see no reason why, if tried, it may not succeed. For strength in carrying burthens, for patient endurance of labor, and privation of food, water & rest, and in some respects for *speed* also, the camel and dromedary (as the Arabian camel is called) are unrivalled among animals. The ordinary loads for camels are from seven to nine or ten hundred pounds each, and with these they can travel from

thirty to forty miles per day, for many days in succession. They will go without water, and with but little food, for six or eight days, or it is said even longer. Their feet are alike well suited for traversing grassy or sandy plains, or rough, rocky & hilly paths, and they require no shoeing.

They would be equally useful to accompany dragoons, or foot soldiers. The Russians in their Caucasian campaigns, and the English armies in Afghanistan have employed them, and they are found to bear the cold very well, unless allowed to lie down on the snow. To prevent this they are provided with some kind of covering (the Russians use pieces of felt) which at night is spread under them.

I am inclined to think they will bear the cold as well as the horse (at least all the cold they would be exposed to in the southwest) and the heat better, and they would probably suffer less from flies. The speed & endurance of the dromedaries kept for quick travelling, without loads, is said to be very great, they being able to go an hundred miles, or sometimes much further even, in the twenty four hours.

The expense of raising camels, after once introducing them into the country would not exceed that of raising horses, or mules. They go about a year with young, and produce one at a birth. They are naturally longer lived than horses. The experiment might be tried if the government is so inclined, without great expense, & would, if successful be a great benefit to the country at large, as well as an advantage to the army.

Should the Department desire it, more definite information can easily be furnished as to the probable expense of importation &c.

I am very respectfully

Your Obt. Servt.

E. F. Miller

P.S. The day I left you, in Boston, after speaking on this subject, I happened to fall in with a copy of the New York Evening Express containing a letter from Genl. Eaton, dated in 1809, which treats of the very same matter. I herewith forward the paper. I am also informed that the subject has lately been discussed in the Genesee Farmer, edited by Doct. Coleman.

(Neither of the papers mentioned is with Miller's letter in the National Archives.)

Letter from Gwinn Harris Heap to Major Henry C. Wayne

(Alexandria, Egypt)

U. S. Ship SUPPLY, Dec. 27, 1855

My dear Major,

I got on board last night at eight, and called this morning on Mr. De Leon. He informed me that as Saïd Pasha, the Viceroy, is expected in Alexandria, he had postponed his departure.

I then detailed to him the measures that had been taken to obtain a permit from the Egyptian government for the exportation of the Dromedaries. He got, or affected to get, into a passion at what he was pleased to call your precipitancy in not waiting until he arrived in Cairo and could present you to the Viceroy & make the demand himself. Said that you had now tied his hands, that in recommending you to the assistance and good offices of our consul in Cairo he had expressly excepted any application to the government; that he was not aware that there was any need of haste, as you had told him that you would wait here a year if necessary—and talked at some length in this strain.

I replied by asking him whether he was sure that he was correct in stating that he had “expressly excepted any application to the gov’t” when he handed you over to Mr. Kahil. At first he said he was. I repeated the question in still more explicit terms—and *then* he answered that he did not make that exception in so many words, but that it was naturally to be implied that all intercourse between you and the Egyptian gov’t was to be through him, & that he did not consider that he had been treated with courtesy by you in communicating with the gov’t except through him.

I then said to him that he had made no reservation whatever when he introduced you to Mr. Kahil—on the contrary, that he had told you that Mr. Kahil would render you any service you might require, &c, &c. As to want of courtesy the boot was on the other leg, that you and not he had a right to make that complaint; that *your* and not *his* hands had been tied by his neglect of the mission—that he knew its object before it arrived in Egypt, & knowing also the existence of a prohibition against the exportation of living animals, which you did not, he might, any time since he saw you in Cairo, have obtained the necessary permission, or have informed you that the Pasha would not grant it, in which case the time wasted here could have been usefully employed elsewhere; that his neglect had caused a month to pass without any important object being accomplished; that I felt convinced he was in error when he stated you had said you “would stay a year if necessary.”

Other remarks I made which it would be needless to repeat—& ended by telling him that he appeared to wish to throw the blame of what has *not been done* on you, whilst if any one was to blame it was himself; that what I said I held myself responsible for—tho I spoke for you as you were not here to speak for yourself.

He *flattened* down completely after that, & changed his tone completely. He hoped you would come down to be presented to the Viceroy on the 29th, but I told him not to expect you as I did not believe you would be able to come—& he promised to get a permit for 6 or at least 4 Dromedaries.

He proposed to present Capt. Porter who will explain the object of the mission. He said that he could have got the permission at once, but feared that the steps which had been taken would now render it difficult (of course, just as we expected). We had a long conversation which ended by our drinking a glass of brandy & water and smoking a Chibook together, when he drove me down to the boat in his carriage. So we parted friends, which would not have been the case if I had not spoken to him as I did. Porter to whom I repeated the conversation said I had done right. P. has a very poor opinion of him.

As I cannot leave without a passport I had to ask the Consul to give me one. I have taken passage in the French steamer to leave tomorrow or the day after. I find that I might as well “utilize” Alexander & will take him with me. Tho he speaks bad Arabic, his Turkish is good, & the latter—while I can’t speak it—is the only language spoken by the people in Smyrna with whom I shall have to deal I would be obliged to employ a dragoman—probably a rascal—as I could not expect Affley or Peloso to give me their whole time, for I shall require an interpreter constantly. I hope you will approve my taking Alex. I hope his usefulness will justify the expense.

I found all well on board. Mohamet is in a high state of rut. He is still on board, as the all-powerful De Leon has been unable to procure a permit to land and re-ship him. So also the ass the Capt. wants to take off. He has been seized by the Custom House & remains in the hands of the Philistines. We have not tried to ship fresh butter yet.

I suppose you will get Hassen to bring the necessary materials for making covers for the other Dromedaries, should you be able to take them out of the country. It costs 25 piastres per camel—only it will be well to see that it is of the same quality of that I bought. Porter has engaged three

men—Americans—to attend the camels on board, & would be glad if you were here to hire two good Arabs. . . .

(Gwinn Harris Heap)

Paragraph in the original draft of Heap's letter to Maj. Wayne dated at sea, April 25, 1856, which does not appear in the letter as published in the government report, Senate Ex. Doc. No. 62, 34th Congress, 3d session.

Burden camels go in gangs of twelve, each gang has two drivers, who attend to them along the road, prepare their food, and make or repair their saddles &c. A donkey is attached to each gang as leader, tho a horse or a mule, if perfectly docile, would answer the same purpose. The ass is preferred on this account. A Jenny is preferred to a Jack. The objection, in my mind, to an ass as the leader of a caravan of camels, is that the length of the day's journey must be limited by his strength and not by the camel's. An ass though an enduring animal cannot, on a long journey, travel more than 15 or 20 miles a day. A point in his favor is that his speed corresponds very nearly with that of the camel. A horse or mule would probably go faster, and consequently harass the camels very much. In an open country any number of camels can go strung in a file, but on entering towns they are detached in gangs of six in each gang, led alternately by a man and an ass.

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Soldier Newspapers of the Civil War*

By EARLE LUTZ

VIEWING the mountains of books that have been published about the American Civil War, it seems incredible that any activity, however trivial, could have escaped the eye of some ambitious writer eager to see his name on a cover. Yet it is amazing to learn the hard way how little is known, relatively, about the extracurricular work of the soldier typographer and editor who seemingly never lost an opportunity to stack his army shooting stick in the corner of some obscure, abandoned newspaper office to resume temporarily the use of his beloved printer's shooting stick.

As a collector of old newspapers and as a reputed expert in that field, an inquiry concerning a newspaper published by a Civil War regiment came to me. While I knew that there were such publications, my knowledge was limited, but I anticipated no difficulty in answering the questions asked by my correspondent. To my surprise the recognized works on journalism showed even less knowledge of the subject than I already had, and subject references in the library catalogues immediately available to me were of little help. No institution listed soldier publications separately, and only a few librarians indicated any interest in the subject.

The dearth of information stirred my curiosity, and the casual replies to my inquiries became a challenge. Several institutions made a real effort to help me, and I found that some had from thirty to forty titles, one library, naturally, partly duplicating the holdings of another. I persevered and then one day I counted my list, to find that it numbered approximately one hundred

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different titles. This convinced me that here was a relatively virgin field open for serious study. My quiet hobby had turned on me, and had burgeoned into a project which has since caused me to wade through hundreds of books and thousands of magazines and newspapers, to write countless letters and to travel more than 6,000 miles for a personal inspection of the soldier newspaper holdings in libraries, museums and private collections. Today I am proud to report that my checklist has passed the 260 mark. Perhaps some day another name will be on the cover of one of those tens of thousands of Civil War books.

That newspapers were published by soldiers during the Civil War is remarkable when everything is taken into consideration. It was a war of movement. Regiments seldom remained in one area long. They marched and counter-marched—and they fought. Lack of transport made it impracticable for printing equipment to be carried along, and the soldier newspaper literally lived off the country, utilizing such facilities as were found in the wake of destructive armies. In spite of every conceivable handicap, the meager facilities at hand, and the scarcity of nearly everything that goes into the making of the newspaper, very creditable publications were turned out in camp tents, in wrecked civilian plants, in army hospitals, and even in military prisons. Only the navy was found wanting.

The Civil War newspaper publisher had little precedent to follow. There had been something of the nature previously, but not under the same circumstances. The French and British armies published official gazettes during the American Revolution, and a member of Washington's staff resigned his commission to launch a civilian newspaper in New Jersey to offset the damage done by the Tory press of New York and Philadelphia. Civilian publishers, aided by soldier compositors and pressmen, followed Winfield Scott and Zachary Taylor deep into Mexico, and the British also had an official gazette in the Crimea. But never before had the common soldier had his own organ in which to give

expression to the American ideal of freedom of thought and speech. From these examples of the enterprise of Billy Yank and Johnny Reb sprang the frank-speaking *Stars and Stripes* so familiar to every veteran of World Wars I and II.

Civil War soldier newspapers were produced by Union and Confederate soldiers alike. While the majority of the publications were printed, many had to be produced tediously by pen and ink. Wallpaper, wrapping paper, writing paper, legal forms and even tissue paper were used when regular newsprint was not available. Forced to resort to wallpaper, the editor of *The Weekly Junior Register*, Franklin, La., dryly stated that "at last we have our backs to the wall."

Camp newspapers started making their appearance within five weeks after the fall of Fort Sumter. On May 21, 1861, *The U. S. American Volunteer* was published at De Soto, Mo., by members of Company A, Fifth Regiment, Missouri Volunteers, commanded by Captain Nelson Cole. It was of one page only, the reverse side being the first page of the abandoned *Jefferson County Herald*. A single issue is all that remains of this pioneer soldier publication.

The next oldest extant soldier publication is the more pretentious *Pennsylvania Fifth*, published on the commandeered press of the Alexandria, Va., *Sentinel*, with type set in the office of the *Alexandria Gazette*. This paper was dated June 10, 1861, and was one to which the editor, Lieutenant John Ely, could point with pride. It even had a four-column German section. The big Northern dailies greeted it with cheers, while the *Richmond Dispatch* had only sarcastic jeers. Five days later *The Camp Register* came off the press at Camp Defiance, Cairo, Ill., and July 4 brought a rash of no less than twenty soldier newspapers from Missouri to Virginia. A few more papers sprang up here and there, but for some months the soldiers of both sides had more pressing matters on their minds.

In the spring of 1862, the old urge was being felt again by

the soldier printers, and the *Providence Journal* remarked that "it is interesting to see how soon our soldiers take to editing and printing when they get possession of a southern town. It will not be their fault if the southerners do not get some ideas through the agency of northern 'shooting sticks' of one kind or another."

Types of soldier newspapers were many. It wasn't practical or even possible in Civil War days to transport a printing press and type over the often impassable southern roads as the units maneuvered back and forth, but a few units did succeed in doing so occasionally. One of these, General John H. Morgan's Brigade, made a serious effort to have a printing press keep up with it and did publish issues of *The Vidette* in four places in two states. *The Missouri Army Argus*, launched in early 1861, was subsidized by Missouri secessionists, and followed the Missouri troops in Missouri, Arkansas and Mississippi for some months. A few regiments acquired the Adams "Cottage" press and took it to camp for awhile, but the greatest dependence had to be placed on the abandoned civilian plants in occupied territory. When these facilities were not available, some units produced newspapers laboriously by hand-lettering, these manuscript publications having the familiar printed newspaper format, with nicely drawn name plates, column rules, headlines and sometimes illustrations by "staff artists." Numbers of these were produced in the field, and this was the only method available to the men who languished in prisons.

Publication of newspapers in abandoned plants was no mean feat. The printers generally found the type almost hopelessly pied and often the presses smashed and overturned. Frequently after a long struggle one issue was turned out and then the regiment was on the march once more. Whenever a paper was produced, it was eagerly snatched up and sent home in lieu of a letter. Sometimes a page was left blank so that the subscriber might pen a letter to his family.

The ingenuity of the publishers of the hand-lettered or manuscript newspapers was evidenced by their circulation plan. The master newspaper was produced and carried from place to place to be read aloud to groups. Then those desiring to do so were permitted for a small fee to make a copy. Manuscript newspapers were issued by Union and Confederate soldiers alike. Issues of the Fort Lafayette paper, *The Right Flanker*, were smuggled out of the prison by an English civilian and published in London under the title of *Fort Lafayette Life or Extracts from The Right Flanker*. No copies remain of *The Libby Chronicle*, but its contents have been preserved in several books. A feature of the *Chronicle* was a series of beautifully written articles headed "Views from the South-East Window," etc. A prospective escapee in this manner was told just what he would encounter once he had gained the outside world. Under the title *Stars and Stripes in Rebelldom*, the initial Civil War *Stars and Stripes*, published in New Orleans, has come down to posterity in book form, and *The Old Flag*, published at Fort Tyler, Texas, was later reproduced by lithography in New York.

A few of the manuscript prison papers such as *The Lee Club Gazette* and *Prison Times* are still in existence, as are several unit papers of the same type. Lost, however, are such publications as *The Truth Teller*, *The Mule*, *The Woodchuck*, *The Rapid Ann*, and *The Waltonville War Cry*, accounts of which are to be found only in regimental histories. A notable example of one of the extant manuscript papers is a 14-page issue of *The Secesh Eradicator*, published by an Illinois regiment.

Difficulty in locating many of the printed soldier newspapers is due to the practice of publishing them in abandoned plants without a change of name or with a slight variation of the name of the regular paper. Often the fact that such a paper was published is reported by a camp correspondent to his home town newspaper, and this has resulted in locating what might well be called a "sleeper" in the file of the civilian publication.

Besides putting out newspapers by themselves entirely, soldier printers sometimes started a publication and then turned it over to civilian publishers. Also they frequently helped civilians publish loyalist newspapers in occupied areas. This latter practice was with the consent of the military brass, who used these civilian newspapers to circulate orders or regulations affecting the people of the occupied areas. Some regular unit newspapers were also used by commanding officers for propaganda purposes and may have been the excuse for their publication.

The majority of the soldier newspapers were published weekly or "occasionally." There were several launched by the enthusiastic publishers as dailies, but these soon were in the hands of more permanent civilians.

Military hospitals were not immune to the printing-ink germ. In nineteen of the army hospitals there were official publications edited by convalescents themselves. One of the most creditable of these papers from a typographical standpoint was *The Reveille*, published by convalescents at the New Albany, Ind., hospital who had never before handled type or operated a press. The hospital newspapers naturally had a longer continuity than any of those published in the field. In several hospitals there also were hand-lettered publications which were read by chaplains or nurses as they visited the various wards. One hospital publication, *The Soldiers Journal*, was launched at the Augur General Hospital, Alexandria, Va., by Amy M. Bradley, noted army nurse, and not only bought and paid for its plant, but was liquidated after the end of hostilities and turned \$2,000 over to war orphan relief.

The great demand for reading material by the men in the field caused many church organizations both North and South to start publication of newspapers for free distribution to soldiers and sailors. The *Army and Navy Herald*, Macon, Ga., had a 20,000 distribution in the Tennessee department alone. The church papers lacked the salty atmosphere of the publications issued by the soldiers themselves.

Political groups also were active in printing and distributing propaganda newspapers to the troops in the field, particularly during the heated Lincoln-McClellan presidential campaign of 1864. One group, the Union League of Philadelphia, distributed 360,000 such papers in six weeks. Other civilian agencies in northern cities published newspapers to send to their boys in the field. A notable example of this type of publication was *The Albany Army Argus*, Albany, N. Y., issued semi-monthly with a full summary of all interesting local events of the period.

Still another type of civilian paper aimed directly at the soldier were service publications, one of which continues today as *The Army, Navy and Air Force Journal*. Many of the service publications, however, had a selfish purpose, being issued by men anxious to trap the unwary service man or his dependents into employing the publisher to secure pensions or other benefits—for a liberal “cut.” Another civilian publication which indirectly helped the man in uniform was the paper published as the official organ of the huge fairs held for the benefit of the U. S. Sanitary Commission, forerunner of the American Red Cross.

The soldier newspaper was a widespread enterprise. Of the various types mentioned, the 260 titles on my list were published in thirty-two of the present states, some being issued in as many as five different locations. Oddly enough, no newspaper published by a naval unit has been found, but two army publications were printed aboard ship, one number of *The Camp Kettle*, which was started in Washington, having been issued in Hampton Roads while the publishing unit, the 100th Pennsylvania Regiment, was en route to South Carolina where subsequent numbers were published. Another single-issue newspaper, *The Red River Rover*, was published on the steamer *Des Moines* by the Eighth Wisconsin Regiment in 1864. It is definite that presses were on some of the Union warcraft, but the Navy Department reports that it has no knowledge of any publication. The military and naval academies at that time had no publications such as those of today.

Seven of the camp newspapers were published in far-off frontier posts. One, *The Frontier Scout*, Fort Rice, N. D., is reputed to have been the first Dakota imprint. Another curious note is that *The Cavalier*, published by the 8th Independent New York Battery, was the first, and remains the only newspaper ever issued at historic Yorktown, Va.

At least 108 different military units of the Civil War are known to have published newspapers, not including the hospitals or prisons. Illinois units head the procession with fifteen different papers, followed by Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Ohio with ten each. Virginia and Missouri run neck and neck for the honor of having produced the largest number of different papers, the score standing at thirty-all. Tennessee and Louisiana follow with sixteen each.

While it is natural that the vast majority of the soldier newspapers were in English, it is not surprising to find that there were two entirely in German, the *Soldaten Freund* and *Pennsylv. Speck und Cracker Volontar*, and others had German columns or sections. Several of the newspapers published in Louisiana carried articles and advertisements in French as fillers, and one newspaper, *The Cherokee Tomahawk*, had a section in Cherokee. Of the scores of Negro units in the Union army, the 14th Rhode Island Heavy Artillery is the only one found to have issued a newspaper, appropriately calling it *The Black Warrior*.

The North leads the South four to one in unit publications, but the Confederate government showed real enterprise by establishing a weekly, *The Index*, in London, with Henry Hotze, former private in an Alabama regiment, as the editor. The Confederate soldier was not less enterprising than his Union foe, but as he was fighting on his own grounds and had a sympathetic press devoted almost exclusively to the news that would interest him, there was less need for a unit publication. If he wanted to issue a paper of his own, he could not walk into a civilian plant and commandeer it as was a privilege of the Union soldier. Also

THE KNAPSACK.

VOL. I

CAMP EDWARD, TENNALLYTOWN, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 5, 1862.

NO. 4.

THE KNAPSACK

is PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY
RICHARD GEO. ROGERS,
JOHN T. HOWE,
SHELDON T. GIBBS,
Editors and Proprietors.

TERMS:

"The Knapsack" will be published every Wednesday morning. Price, for single copy 8 Cents; or 10 Cents per month, invariably in advance.

Advertisements solicited, and contracted for on private terms.

N.B. On account of the limited supply of material in our Establishment, we cannot at present accommodate our friends in the Jobbing line as we might desire; but anything in the shape of Visiting or Wedding Cards can be furnished at the shortest notice and on the most reasonable terms.

POETICAL.

OUR FLAG.

Lift, lift the eagle banner high,

Our guide to fame—

On ocean's breeze bid it fly.

Like meteors, waiting through the sky,

Their pomp of fame,

Till wide on every sea unfurled,

It tells to us admiring world

Our name.

Oh! ' proudly burns its bosom lit

On victory's path—

Thro' Freedom's dawn, thro' danger's night,

Onward, still onward, rolling bright,

It sweeps in wrath—

Still, lightning-like, to him who dares

Confront the terror of our stars,

Its death.

Still heavenward mounts the generous flame

And never treads—

Does Envy dare insult our name,

Or jarking falsehood brand with shame

Our buried sire?

The armed Colossus thunders by,

Wide wave our stripes—the dastard lie

Expires.

For the "Knapsack."
ON GUARD.

BY A. J. HOWES

Deserted by the waning moon,

When skies proclaim night's cherished noon,

On tower, fort or tented ground

The Sentry walks his lonely round.

And should some footstep haply stray

Where caution marks the guarded way,

"Who goes there? Stranger, quickly tell;

A friend—the word—good night—all's well."

For the "Knapsack." TO KATE AND BESSIE.

Forewell, Forewell, my two dear friends

Between us broad blue rivers flow,

And forests wave, and plains extend,

And mountains in the sunlight glow.

The breeze that blows upon your brows

Is the breeze that blows on mine—

The moonbeams resting on you now

Are the beams that on me shine.

And yet, I trust, we soon will meet,

When War's dark clouds have passed away.

How pleasant, then, 'twill be to greet

The friends of life's bright "other days."

Our vows of friendship we'll then renew,

And swift the moments they will fly.

I will not speak "the cold adieu,"

But, Kate and Bessie, Good-bye, Good-bye.

SHORT CAULDER, Feb. 27.

MISCELLANEOUS.

DOWN AT SHORT AND WITHOUT DOUBT.

A corporal, who was for some time confined at Richmond with the Union prisoners, is furnishing the Rochester *Express* some interesting reminiscences of prison life. From his letters, we extract the following romantic story:

I have before stated that some of the private soldiers from the upper rooms were employed in the officers' quarters, a service which they gladly accepted as affording superior rations. Among these was Corporal M——, of New York, a young man of very wealthy parents, of attractive manners, good intellectual endowments—and widely "handsome as Apollo."

At the request of some of the officers, he was occasionally permitted to visit the lower floor, and occasionally was permitted to leave the prison on parole, for the purpose of purchasing supplies. While thus passing through one of the main thoroughfares, M—— was accosted by a little girl, who presented him with a bouquet, at the same time pointing to a young lady on the opposite side of the street as the donor. The Corporal acknowledged the gift by a polite bow, and proceeded upon his mission. The lady, apparently fascinated, followed him at a distance, to the prison, and as he entered it, she respectfully bowed, and leisurely walked away.

For some inexplicable cause the corporal was not again permitted to go in or out, and a negro—I should have mentioned that quite a number of servants were in the prison—was dispatched in his stead. The negro had not proceeded far, when he was met by the young lady referred to, and the sequel to the interview was developed in a package with which he returned to the officers' quarters, and delivered to Corporal M——.

It was found to contain a new suit of clothes, and upon one garment was pinned a small card, neatly inscribed with the name of his benefactress—

"Only this and nothing more."

Corp. M—— instantly addressed himself to the task of epistolary composition, in which he gracefully acknowledged the receipt of the gift, and expressed his heartfelt thanks. This was delivered by the negro on the day following, and he returned with a package containing a number of pocket handkerchiefs, socks and shirts.

As in the first instance, the only communication which accompanied the gift was the donor's card. The corporal soon acknowledged his obligations by a polite note, which was duly delivered through the same medium.

Thereafter the corporal was in daily receipt of the choicest of delicacies, and a regular epistolary correspondence was carried on until the day of his release, which occurred on the 2d of January. A matrimonial engagement had been made during the interval, with the understanding that the parties would meet in Baltimore on the 1st of March next.

She had sent him her daguerrotype, which he frequently exhibited to use. It was a lovely young, classical cast countenance, and for "collateral" inducement to carry captive the most frigid and lethargic fancy. I learned that she was of a wealthy family, and of as good blood as was to be found among the F. F. V.'s, and her letters, I was assured, craved that she was no less intelligent and refined.

When the glad tidings of our release came, the name of Corporal M—— was found in the list. The intelligence was quickly conveyed to his yearning admirer. We saw nothing of her, however, as we marched through the streets of Richmond, though the Corporal's longing vision was strained at every animate object.

But when a halt was ordered, a fine carriage, driven by a negro, suddenly made its appearance, and halted a short distance from our ranks. A lady descended—there was a brief, but earnest colloquy among the rebel officers of our guard, and the next moment the enraptured twin (Corporal M. and his affianced) were face to face! A few words, the first they had ever exchanged, in subdued, yet melting tones; their faces were for a moment lighted, as with a flame—the engagement was solemnly renewed—there was a fervent, thrilling pressure of the hands, and they separated.

A circumstance is connected with the daguerrotype above referred to, which deserves a passing notice. Before it left the prison, the picture was taken from the east; and a small slip of paper, closely written, and addressed to Gen. McClellan, was deposited therein, and the daguerrotype then replaced. It was safely delivered to the Commander-in-Chief, a meeting of the Cabinet was called, and the day following there was a look copied—a mysterious leak, from high official circles, and which had instinctively been to the rebels for many months.

there were a number of civilian-produced army papers which were organs of the Confederate forces, one such being *The Chattanooga Rebel*, which, under Henry W. Watterson, became Bragg's official mouthpiece. At the outbreak of hostilities the Missouri Secessionist government subsidized *The Missouri Army Argus*. Watterson's paper followed the Confederate armies through Tennessee, Georgia and Alabama, the plant winding up its migratory career at Selma, where its Federal captors promptly brought out *The Selma Union*. Another of the wandering newspapers loved by the Confederate fighting man was *The Memphis Appeal*, sometimes printed in a box car, but always faithfully following the troops in Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia before falling into the hands of the enemy. Even when Atlanta civilian newspapers had fled, the *Appeal* continued to publish a single sheet of odd sizes daily in the beleaguered city, using a job press for this purpose.

The life of the soldier-printer was not an easy one. The men frequently complained that their military duties hampered their printing activities. Several times they dropped their editorial work to march out to meet the enemy and the paper never went to press. *The Buck and Ball* was partly printed when the printers were rudely interrupted by the battle of Cane Hill, Ark. The two printed pages were thrown in a wagon and eight days later found intact; the other two pages were then printed with a vivid account of the fight in which the typographers and editors participated.

The calibre of men turning out the camp newspapers was high. Many had owned their own civilian newspapers before volunteering for army service. Many of the editors and printers were already officers or won commissions, two becoming "eagle" colonels and two brigadier generals. One of the latter, Adam Badeau, is remembered as the author of *The Military History of U. S. Grant*. Bullets likewise did not spare the soldier newspapermen. I have found that at least seven of the soldier editors and print-

ers were killed in action or died of service-connected diseases, while twenty or more others were wounded, not including those in the hospitals. Naturally those producing prison papers had had the misfortune of falling into enemy hands.

While it is natural that some off-color matter should find its way into the camp journals, this was an exception rather than the rule. The material was far cleaner than that used in World War II camp newspapers, and of course there was a total absence of "cheese-cake"¹ in the Civil War soldier publications. Verses, jokes, puzzles and unit items were featured, but there was some attempt to publish army activities with extreme caution against revealing any secrets. Typographically, some of the camp newspapers would shame those of the last war in spite of the handicaps under which the typographers labored.

I doubt seriously that a pile of all extant camp newspapers would reach the top of my head. A large number simply do not exist, and in many, many instances, there is only one copy held anywhere. It would be far easier to assemble a collection of Signers of the Declaration of Independence than to make up a collection of just one-half the soldier publications that I have on my list.

The search for the elusive publications has been an interesting one. I encountered many roadblocks from uninterested and uncoöperative heads of institutions, and plain ignorance on the part of others. Many of the incidents were aggravating and others were funny. One librarian mailed a letter written six months previously, after coming across it in his desk, and another honestly admitted that he had put the letter in his overcoat pocket in the spring and found it still there in the fall. In all fairness, however, I want to emphasize that the majority of the institutions made an honest effort to help my search. A number went far beyond the call of duty to assist me, and for this I am deep-

¹ A modern newspaper photographer's term for pictures of young ladies' ankles. *Editor*.

ly grateful. When I made a swing around the country last fall I received unfailing attention and encouragement in my projected bibliography.

Miss Gregory's *Union List of Serials* was very helpful in my initial research, but errors caused by incorrect listings from numerous institutions caused me much trouble. Checklists compiled for various states overlooked the soldier newspaper generally, and what I found to be errors were perpetuated by subsequent writers. It was through the tedious study of files of New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Providence and Richmond newspapers and scattered issues of other newspapers that I found references to the publication of a number of camp newspapers whose names appear nowhere else. Through regimental histories and other war books I am able sometimes to verify the publication of these elusive papers. It is through regimental rosters that I have learned the fate of many of the printers and editors.

My visits to libraries and museums helped them as well as myself. In a book written thirty years ago I found the mention of a small newspaper the author had seen in the middle of a bound volume of an entirely different paper which he had seen in an unnamed library. At a New England institution I asked for the file of the newspaper, and was delighted to find the soldier newspaper which had no business there. In another library I found that a fifth number of a camp newspaper, started in Mississippi, had been published in Connecticut. The Confederate Museum, in Richmond, had not recognized that its manuscript copies of *The Lee Club Gazette* had been produced in two different prisons, and I was able to show the Cossitt Library in Memphis that a Memphis paper it had assumed had been published under one name actually had a totally different title. Of course, some of the libraries were able to knock some of the conceit out of me.

I have followed a long trail in my research on what many will consider an unimportant matter. It makes me feel akin to the fa-

ther of a large family who wouldn't take a million dollars for any one of his brood, but wouldn't give a dime for another. But it has been a lot of fun.

NOTES ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS

Secesh Eradicator (Federal)

A manuscript newspaper issued "now and then" in 1863 (about May 1) in camp near Brentwood for the 85th Illinois Infantry Regiment. Edited by "Bayonette" (Hospital Steward James L. Hastings). Published by "E. N. Body." Devoted to Union, Freedom and Right. Had been issued previously under another name, according to issue dated "April 35, 1863" and numbered Vol. 6, No. 27, probably for security reasons. The editor stopped work on the night of April 30 to help repel a Confederate raid. Only known issue has twelve pages 7¾ by 9½. Terms "In Advance A Greenback. Not in advance. At NO PRICE."

1LNC 1863 April 35 [*sic*]

The Knapsack (Federal)

Published "every Wednesday morning" at Camp Edward, Tennallytown, in 1862 (February 26 is Vol. 1, No. 3) by the 93rd Pennsylvania Infantry Regiment. (Erroneously reported in Gregory as published in Pennsylvania and New York.) Richard George Rogers (later killed in action), John T. Howe and Shelton T. Gibbs, editors and proprietors. Used Adams Cottage Press in camp. Price 3 cents a single copy, 10 cents a month. Four pages, 9 by 12.

P 1862 February 26 (lost)

PScrG 1862 "

Author 1862 March 5

Bibliographical Notes

A "Lost" Poet of Louisiana

On a spring day in 1804 the French scholar and naturalist Claude C. Robin climbed out of a pirogue at Ouachita in Louisiana. At the landing place he was greeted by a middle-aged man with an intelligent face and of good appearance who asked eagerly for the latest news from New Orleans and Europe.

This man, who introduced himself as M. de Badinsse, invited the traveler to stay at his house, and Robin was agreeably surprised to find a pleasant dwelling in such a distant spot. The orchard and the garden, placed at the wings of the house, he found well planted and well cared for. A field of some fifty arpents lay open before the house, beyond which was a wood of large trees laden with Spanish moss. All these clearings and planted fields and buildings, the host said, were his own accomplishment. Fewer than seven years had passed since he had bought the land from a French-Canadian hunter who had lived in a miserable cabin and had cleared only two or three arpents. In this short time, aided by four slaves, he had brought the plantation to its present state. But, he added, these occupations had not prevented him from cultivating literature with the aid of a select library; or from devoting himself to poetry, for which he had a great passion; or from the study of botany and medicine which he carried on solely with a view to being useful in the community (for he practised gratuitously).

Robin was truly astonished. "In these deserts the lyre of Apollo resounds and Nature is studied!" How happy was he that had accepted the pleasant invitation of his host. The excellent taste which was everywhere displayed must show the influence of poetry inspired in these silent retreats. Surely, the traveler continued, his host having come so lately to Louisiana must have been very carefully educated?

But, no, Badinsse replied. It was true that he belonged to one of the principal families of Montpellier, a family distinguished in the magistrature and even allied to a personage very eminent in France. But having been taken while quite young by his brother on voyages first to the Mediterranean and then to Martinique, he had had the misfortune to lose the brother in the Caribbean and was early thrown on his own resources.

He went then to Louisiana where, he said modestly, the ease with which he learned languages soon put him into a lucrative position in the Indian trade and he presently acquired the fortune which permitted him to pass his days so tranquilly at this time.

Supper was now served. Madame de Badinsse, who was short, stout, and pleasant-looking; Mademoiselle de Badinsse, who was as fresh and pretty at fourteen as one could be; and a man who seemed to be a kind of overseer entered the room. Dinner was passed in silence except on M. de Badinsse's part. Afterwards the second man brought in a large book and read pieces of poetry by his employer—epistles, songs, epigrams—as the author chose. Robin immediately saw that Badinsse was familiar with Boileau and other standard poets. He showed much gaiety and vivacity in his poems, made many lively sallies and sharp hits. But Robin was not long in discovering to his disappointment that this poet who, he had thought, would be entirely occupied with singing the beauties of nature and the excellence of the solitary life had exercised his skill only in mordant satires to which particular local quarrels had given birth. Each of his caustic couplets brought up some scandalous story of the district, and some extremely grave charges were expressed. He painted the former commandant Filhiol as the most avid tyrant that had ever existed. Among his exaggerations there were, unhappily, some truths. He did not spare the new commandant (Cotard), and all the principal families of the district were passed in review in the most disagreeable manner. The evening was prolonged until midnight, and when at last Robin went to bed these pictures of hate and intrigue, of annoyances and crimes, so fed his imagination that he passed a very bad night.

The next day Robin had the pleasure of seeing his host in the rôle of Aesculapius. While they awaited breakfast, a man with a swollen jaw arrived, complained of a terrible pain, and asked Badinsse to examine his tooth. Almost before the man was seated and before Robin could see an instrument in the hand of the "doctor," Badinsse had the tooth out. During breakfast the patient talked at length about the health of a woman whom this man of many skills had cured of an abscess on her thigh.

A grammatical discussion now arose about some locution, for Badinsse was very precise in his language. He ran for a dictionary, brought it to Robin, and said, "Find it and read it." When the visitor complied, Badinsse would not believe him, and Robin rejoined, "Do me the favor to read it yourself." To his great amazement he learned that Badinsse did not know how to read! Oh, but everybody at Ouachita Post knew that, said his host. The man who had read his poetry after supper the

night before was kept for the very purpose of taking dictation and reading his compositions aloud. "Never was I more surprised," declared the traveler. To be a *littérateur*, a poet, and a doctor, without knowing how to read—no matter how imperfect his knowledge—this was an unheard-of thing.

A few days later when Robin had become better acquainted at the commandant's house, he spoke freely of this phenomenon and everyone assured him that it was so. When he went on, however, to speak of his host's name, of his family, and of many other things that this odd and fascinating man had told him, they declared that M. de Badinsse, who was extraordinary in so many regards, was above all extraordinary as a liar. On his arrival in Louisiana his name had been plain Badin; he had merely been an unfortunate cabin-boy who was lucky enough to interest people by his agreeable vivacity. Badinsse he had determined on as a more harmonious name, and the particle he had adopted as socially impressive. A good education, they said, would have corrected his great defect of lying and would have directed his ardent character towards something higher than satire, for he had great talents and might have become a great man.

The secretary of the poet Robin described as a man of the most passive temperament that ever existed. Whereas the impetuous fancies and caprices of his master kept all about him in a turmoil, this man Racine wrote, scratched out, added, and restored without showing the least emotion, and believed, in writing the thoughts of his great master, that he would be associated in his glory.

The most successful of the inventions of M. de Badinsse, Robin added, was one that occurred some time after his own departure from Ouachita Post: he made a hatter from Paris believe that his property was worth three times its true value. The hatter, who knew no poetic fictions but did know how to read, was such an enemy of learning, it seems, that he had left Paris because he saw learned men occupying important positions. Having found too much learning in New Orleans, he had retreated to Ouachita where he had met M. de Badinsse, who had unloaded his plantation on the newcomer.

So Robin reported his adventure in the second volume of his *Voyages dans l'Intérieur de la Louisiane . . . 1802-1806*. All this sounds like an amusing traveler's tale—so extreme is the story that we are likely to credit the author with a pleasant invention which culminated in the story of a large manuscript volume of satirical poetry produced in the Louisiana wilderness. But it can be substantiated sufficiently to make us long to find the poems.

1891
 Le présent acte a été approuvé
 par les Seigneurs & Chevaliers à tout
 contraire en présence des Seigneurs
 Jean Fouet & Vincent Michel
 qui ont signé avec le vendeur
 Châteauguay & Vous Lieutenant
 du Milieu, Commandant par
 empêchement, le même jour &
 au quin-telle. Filhiol
 poiret
 Vincent Michel
 Badins
 De la Noumei

By public records it becomes clear that the poet was in reality Louis Badin or Badins and had lived at Ouachita Post (Fort Miro) for thirteen years. A deed from Filhiol attests that he had acquired land there as early as November 1791. Other documents show that he conveyed on 5 June 1804 to Jean François Girod and Jacques Schol (or Chol), partners, a plantation of sixteen arpents front by forty in depth (about five hundred and forty acres) with its buildings, which included dwelling house, kitchen, storehouses, and other structures. Forty arpents were then planted in cotton, thirty in corn, other grains, and squash, and one in sweet potatoes (these cultivated fields all being fenced in according to custom). In addition to farm and carpenter tools the property included seven horses, two mares, fifty horned cattle, thirty sheep, forty goats, and seventy to eighty pigs. Add to this thirteen slaves, of whom six were adult. The price of all was fixed at sixteen thousand *piastre gourds* (dollars), ten thousand of which was to be paid in money and the balance represented by a house and lot in the Faubourg Ste. Marie (New Orleans) facing eighty feet on Camp Street and running one hundred and sixty-seven deep along Rue Gravier. M. de Badinsse, it is clear, was a reasonably substantial citizen.

What happened to this "*littérateur*, poet, doctor" after he removed to New Orleans remains unknown. What became of his library and his poems and his secretary are unsolved mysteries. One conjecture, however, may be offered concerning his books. Jacques Chol, who presently came into complete possession of the property once Badin's, died "at his mancion on the Ouachita River at the post commonly called Fort Mero in said Parish on the third day of September," 1809, aged about fifty-two years, according to the probate records. Among his possessions were the following books—could they possibly have once been the library of the poet-planter Badinsse? It must certainly have been a collection worth listing in detail:

35 vol. Encyclopedia	\$150
3 " Bayley's Dictionary	3
2 " Richley d ^o	2
1 " Commercial Dictionary (by Savary)	1
1 " Spanish & Latin Dictionary	1
420 Sundry works	273

But, where, alas! are the poems of Louis de Badinsse?

JOHN FRANCIS McDERMOTT

Washington University

Wynkyn de Worde's Printing of Lydgate's "Horse, Sheep and Goose"

Most recently, Mr. H. S. Bennett has repeated a piece of miscalculation, in regard to an early Wynkyn de Worde edition, which manifestly finds its origin in an opinion expressed by E. Gordon Duff. More than a dozen years ago, the present writer called attention to this slip in the footnote of a literary journal ("Lydgate's *Horse, Sheep and Goose* and Huntington MS. HM 144," in *Modern Language Notes*, LV [1940], 563-569, note 5). Since this bibliographical reference is apparently buried away in a periodical not usually consulted for the historical aspects of early printing—and since this footnote affects the bibliographical description of that "rara avis," an English incunable, it seems right and proper to set forth once again and somewhat more fully the pertinent details, so that in future they may not so readily escape the notice of students of the earliest printing.

In the closing years of the fifteenth century, Wynkyn de Worde decided to reprint one of the best-sellers of Caxton's list—the *Debate of the Horse, Sheep and Goose* by Dan John Lydgate. Some four hundred years later, Duff¹ observed that this reprint demonstrated "how careless a printer W. de Worde was. He reprints the *Horse, the Shepe, and the Ghoos*, from a copy of Caxton's wanting a leaf, but never noticing anything wrong prints straight ahead, making of course nonsense of the whole." Lately Mr. Bennett,² following in a very similar vein, remarks that "De Worde's workshop was also responsible for another blunder when it set up an edition of Lydgate's poem, *The hors, the sheep, and the ghoos* (1500), from a copy of Caxton's text, without noticing that one leaf was missing!"

Now, in the editions that have survived to our day, Caxton printed only six stanzas to a leaf—yet the stanzas omitted in the first Wynkyn de Worde edition (and its two successors)³ are numbers 67 through 77,⁴ a total of eleven stanzas. Quite obviously these could not all have been contained in a single leaf of any such Caxton edition. [It may be remarked, parenthetically, that in order to fit as many as twelve stanzas

¹ *The Printers, Stationers and Bookbinders of Westminster and London from 1476 to 1535* (Cambridge, 1906), p. 32.

² *English Books & Readers 1475 to 1557* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 218.

³ The editions are listed and described by E. Gordon Duff, *Fifteenth Century English Books* (Bibliographical Society, 1917, nos. 261-265).

⁴ According to the text as printed by Henry N. MacCracken (*The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, Early English Text Society, Original Series 192, 1934, 539-562).

on to a single leaf, Caxton would have been obliged to resort to printing in folio. Since, however, this would have reduced the number of leaves by exactly one half and the original quarto contained but eighteen leaves, the resulting folio edition would have been extremely cumbersome and unhandy. It seems a rather remote possibility that Caxton could have produced a folio containing but ten leaves.]

In both surviving editions produced by England's first printer, these eleven stanzas (plus an explicit reading "Thus endeth the horse the ghoos & the sheep") are found on folios 13 and 14, these leaves forming the innermost half-sheet of the second (and last) quire.⁵ Although the two Caxton editions⁶ are remarkably alike, they do offer genuine variant readings (not mere misprints) in several instances. Lines 292-293 of the first Caxton edition (Duff 261) read:

With an exordye of latyn he dide expresse
Veste purpurea vt rectores regum

With this text Wynkyn de Worde's first edition (Duff 263) agrees, while Caxton's second printing varies to the extent of having "dide thus expresse" and "rectores gregum." Again, line 411 of Duff 261 has "circumstance" where Duff 262 prints "circumstances," while in line 455, Duff 261 offers "Torned" and Duff 262 has "Torneth." Wynkyn de Worde's edition in each case agrees with the first Caxton printing of this text.

In conclusion, then, it is quite obvious that Wynkyn de Worde, in setting up his text of the *Horse, Sheep and Goose*, used a copy of Caxton's first edition which lacked not one but two leaves, specifically those forming the innermost sheet of the last quire.

CURT F. BÜHLER

The Pierpont Morgan Library

Seven Variants in "The Tretyse of Loue"

The Tretyse of Loue is one of the six books known to have been printed at the Red Pale in Westminster between the time of Caxton's death, toward the end of 1491, and 1494 when Wynkyn de Worde began pub-

⁵ The volume is a quarto with the signatures running: [a⁸ b¹⁰].

⁶ The only known copy of the first Caxton edition is in the University Library, Cambridge, while the only surviving one of the second printing (save for a fragment also at Cambridge) is now in the Pierpont Morgan Library.

lishing under his own name.¹ The nine copies of the book whose present locations are known are in the Morgan and Huntington Libraries in the United States; Cambridge University, Magdalene College (Pepysian), and Sidney Sussex College Libraries in Cambridge, England; John Rylands Library, Manchester, University of Glasgow Hunterian Collection, and Lincoln Cathedral Library, also in Great Britain; and the Kongelige Bibliotek in Copenhagen.² Both Seymour de Ricci and Miss Eloise Pafort report a tenth copy in the Göttingen University Library, but an inquiry about the variants addressed to the librarian elicited the following enigmatic reply (dated 8 October 1951): "Wir bedauern sehr, unter unsern Beständen keines der von Ihnen gesuchten Exemplare nachweisen zu können." Since I understand that most of the volumes have been returned to the library, this copy should, perhaps, be considered a casualty of the war.

The edition by the present writer was based upon a comparison of the texts of three copies, those in the Morgan, Huntington, and Cambridge University Libraries.³ In the collation, seven variants were discovered. None is of great significance, but all afford evidence of some of the mechanical difficulties and practices of English printers in the fifteenth century. The readings are listed below in the order of their appearance. I give signature and position of the word in question in the original, then page and line reference in the edition.

- | | | |
|--|----------|--|
| 1. Biv A. 14 up, line end
(28/26) | serued | Cambridge, Sidney Sussex, Kongelige, Lincoln |
| | serude | Huntington, Morgan, Pepysian, Rylands, Hunterian |
| 2. Biv ^v A. 1st line end
(29/19) | the fete | Cambridge, Sidney Sussex, Kongelige, Lincoln |
| | e fethte | Huntington, Morgan, Pepysian, Rylands, Hunterian |

¹ *The Tretyse of Loue*, edited by John H. Fisher, EETS, OS, 223 (London, Oxford University Press, 1951). See Introduction, ix ff., for full bibliographical description and discussion of the publication.

² For a more detailed list see Introduction (xi-xii). The edition was made and the introduction written during the War, when I was forced to depend upon Seymour de Ricci's *A Census of Caxtons* (Printed for the Bibliographical Society at the Oxford University Press, 1909), pp. 112-113, and manuscript notes for a census of Wynkyn de Worde which Miss Eloise Pafort of the Morgan Library generously made available to me, for information about the Continental copies.

³ Introduction, xxxii.

- | | | |
|---|------------|---|
| 3. Bvj ^v B. 17 down, first word
(36/13) | Plectentes | Huntington, Pepysian, Kongelige |
| | Pletentes | Morgan, Cambridge, Sidney Sussex, Rylands, Lincoln, Hunterian |
| 4. Cij A. 3 down, line end
(39/18) | whā | Huntington, Cambridge, Pepysian, Sidney Sussex, Rylands, Lincoln |
| | wh | Morgan, Hunterian, Kongelige |
| 5. Eij A. 10 down, line end
(69/17) | fulle | Morgan, Rylands, Lincoln, Kongelige |
| | full | Huntington, ⁴ Cambridge, Pepysian, Sidney Sussex, Hunterian |
| 6. Fvj A. line ends, 9 down
(98/6) | shal | Huntington, Cambridge, Pepysian, Sidney Sussex, Rylands, Hunterian, Lincoln |
| | sha | Morgan, Kongelige |
| 7. ———, 10 down | traueylle | Huntington, Cambridge, Pepysian, Sidney Sussex, Rylands, Hunterian, Lincoln |
| | traneylle | Morgan, Kongelige |

It should be noted first that every one of the variants except 3, Ple(ç)tentēs, comes at the end of a line and involves either metathesis (1, 2), turned letter (7), or dropped final letter (4, 5, 6). All these end-line variants appear to be the result of one of the most frequent mechanical difficulties of early printing, when forms were not securely locked and inking was done by dabbing by hand with a sticky inkball rather than with a smoothly driven roller.⁵ The inkball drew out the loose letters at the ends of unsecured lines. In the case of the first variant, the printer evidently saw the two pieces of type sticking to the ball and thrust them back into place, but reversed, so that half the extant copies read correctly "serued," and the other half "serude." In the second, at the end of the first line in the first column—apparently a loose spot—he jerked out eight letters and a quad. He must not even have bothered to look at the

⁴ The e at the end of the preceding line, "marie," has also slipped to half way between the lines in the Huntington copy.

⁵ For other examples of the same sort of error in *The Chastising of God's Children*, a book closely associated with the *Tretyse* (Introduction, ix-x), see Curt F. Bühler, "Seven Variants in 'The Chastising of God's Children,'" *PBSA*, 43, 1 (1949) 76, n. 4, and R. B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* (Oxford University Press, 1927), p. 204.

type as he hastily thrust it back into place, producing the garble "e fethte" for "the fete." In the fourth and fifth variants, the printer never noticed that he had jerked out letters. The loose way in which the forms were locked is suggested by the fact that the lines do not justify in the copies in which the *ā* and *e* are lost (and see note 4).

The last two variants seem to have been produced by the same difficulty. Presumably as originally set, "shal" in line 9 had two l's. At some time before the printing of any of the extant copies, perhaps in the process of locking the forms, one l became attached to the end of line 8, producing "thennel" for "thenne." Later, the other l was jerked out and lost. Presumably at the same time (since it occurs in the same two copies), the u of "traueylle" was drawn out, and thrust back in upside down.

I should be more inclined to suppose that the third variant, "Pletentes—Plectentes," represented a stop-press correction of an error in setting, if there were not so many other—and more obvious—errors in both the Latin and English throughout the text.⁶ These are characteristic of de Worde's carelessness,⁷ and suggest that there was no editorial supervision of the printing. Hence, variant 3 seems to fall in with the others as an error caused by the jerking out of a letter. The printer simply pushed the line together and went on printing.

JOHN H. FISHER

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Lydgate's "Life of Our Lady" and the Chetham MS. 6709

In a recent article Curt F. Bühler offered strong evidence for assuming that the Morgan MS. 801 of the *Fasciculus Temporum* is a direct copy of Erhard Ratdolt's 1481 edition of the work.¹ He noted the frequent occurrence of this strange phenomenon of a manuscript carefully transcribed from a print and elicited explanations for it.

While preparing a critical edition of Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady*, I came upon an identical situation.² The text of this poem in the Chetham

⁶ Cf. Aij B. 2 down: "Comune" for "Domine"; Aiv^v A. 13 down: "stictum" for "scutum"; Bj B. 21 down: "ethineus" for "ethnicus." These are by no means unusual.

⁷ For other instances see Introduction, x-xi. Although the double-column folio page calls for thirty-six lines, de Worde's columns vary from thirty-two to thirty-eight lines in this book.

¹ *Speculum*, XXVII (April, 1952), 178-183.

² See my unpublished dissertation (University of Pennsylvania, 1951), "Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady*: A Critical Edition of Books I and II," p. 13.

MS. 6709 (ff. 6^v-156^r) is an exact copy of Caxton's 1484 print. The Chetham MS. is dated "March 1490" (f. 170^r) and the scribe signed himself "William Cotson, canonicus" in three places (ff. 5^r, 170^r, 282^v).

Proof that the Chetham MS. *Life of Our Lady* is a copy of the Caxton print lies in the fact that only these two texts omit line II 1313 and an entire stanza, lines III 134-140. Besides, only they transpose lines I 375-376, II 508-509, II 720-721, and add a new and different line between lines II 1317-1318. In addition to these singular departures, Caxton added three stanzas of original verse to the Lydgate poem;³ the Chetham scribe has added these faithfully. However, where Caxton asks pardon of the reader for "the rudehede / Of myn enpryntyng," the Chetham scribe thought it better to change "enpryntyng" to "translatyng."⁴

J. Manly and E. Rickert were of the opinion that the "Second Nun's Tale" and the "Prioress's Tale," contained also in the Chetham MS. 6709, were also copies of Caxton's second edition of the *Canterbury Tales* (1484?).⁵ They add that Cotson may have been a poor country parson, too poor in truth to own a copy of the poems, and that he may well have borrowed a print and made a manuscript copy for himself. To this explanation and that of Bühler⁶ I would like to add that in the paucity of English printers in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (especially outside the centers of printing), and in view of the few available copies of popular works, the tradition of manuscript copying would prevail in numerous instances.

RALPH A. KLINEFELTER

Duquesne University

Duplicate Editions of Mason's "Musaeus" (1747)

In my review of the bibliography of William Mason in the present issue of these PAPERS I observed that the variant imprints for *Musaeus*, the author's first-published poem, distinguish two editions, each in a separate setting, and both of an order contrary to the one described. Evidence of this distinction and of the order now proposed appears in the textual

³ For Caxton's authorship of these verses see W. Blades, *The Life and Typography of William Caxton* (London, J. Lilly, 1861-1863), II, 172.

⁴ Signature m^{4v} of the Caxton print; f. 155^r of the MS.

⁵ *The Text of the Canterbury Tales* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1940), I, 84.

⁶ *Speculum*, XXVII (April, 1952), 180.

differences among the two undesignated editions listed below as A and B and the 1748 publication avowed as the "Third Edition."

Ed.	Place	Imprint	7,18	10,6	11,13	15,18	18,3	20,18
A	LONDON:	2 lines	ring	'gan	Faery	argument.	lin	sad day
		[corrected copies]					argument	line;
B	LONDON:	3 lines	ring,	gan	faery	argument	line;	sadday
3rd	LONDON:	4 lines	ring	gan	faery	argument	line:	sad day

Copies: (A) ICU uncorrected; MH corrected at 15,18 and 18,3; CtY and NjP corrected at 18,3 only. (B) ICN—2 copies, ICU. (3rd ed) ICU.

Since A is slightly superior to the others in the first three of the discrepant readings and the only one which shows correction at press, it may be regarded as the original edition and B as the unattended, intermediate printing which later served as the copytext for the third edition. This conclusion allows the inference noted for a similar instance (PAPERS, XLV [1951], 357-358) that as there is no record of a "Second Edition," so called, the printer very probably considered the B reprint as such in his designation of the third.

WILLIAM B. TODD

Salem College

James Stephens' Contributions to "The Irish Review"

As a convenience to future bibliographers and to students concerned to examine the earliest printed versions of the work in question, I am presenting, below, an annotated record of James Stephens' contributions to *The Irish Review*, the journal of which he was, in 1911, a co-founder. References to *Collected Poems* indicate the January 1927 reprint of the New York (Macmillan) edition of October 1926.

"In the Poppy Field": I, 1 (Mar. 1911). 20.—Reprinted in *Collected Poems* (163) with differences in punctuation and verse-alignment.

"Bessie Bobtail": I, 2 (Apr. 1911). 72.—In *Collected Poems* (143) with concluding two lines in italics and with differences in punctuation.

"Mary: A Story": I, 2 (Apr. 1911). 92-99; I, 3 (May). 142-149; I, 4 (June). 197-204; I, 5 (July). 248-256 [Pt. XI has Mrs. Makebelieve's opinions on policemen as husbands: cf. Stephens' "The Old Philosopher Discourses on Policemen," *Sinn Féin*, Vol. IV, No. 176 (25 Sept. 1909), and *The Crock of Gold*, Bk. V, Chap. XIV]; I, 6 (Aug.). 300-308; I, 7 (Sept.). 352-360; I, 8 (Oct.). 407-414; I, 9 (Nov.). 454-465; I, 10 (Dec.). 505-517; I, 11 (Jan. 1912). 560-568; I, 12 (Feb.). 610-617.—Published (1912) in England as *The Charwoman's Daughter*, in America as *Mary, Mary*.

"MacDhoul": I, 11 (Jan. 1912). 527-528.—In *Collected Poems* (145-146) with altered punctuation and slight verbal differences. (Cf. "The Threepenny Piece," *Here Are Ladies*, and *The Demi-Gods*, Chap. XXV.)

"The Wisdom of the West": II, 14 (Apr. 1912). 100-102.—Review of Cousins' book by this title (Maunsel).

"An Adventure of Seumas Beg": II, 16 (June 1912). 191.—Reprinted, with verbal and metrical alterations, as "The Devil's Bag" in *Collected Poems* (170).

"How the Husband of the Thin Woman Lost His Brother": II, 18 (Aug. 1912). 296-303.—A two-part story which, with very slight changes, became Chapters I and II of *The Crock of Gold*.

"The Irish Year": II, [19: this issue unnumbered] (Sept. 1912). 384-387.—Review of Padraic Colum's *My Irish Year* (London, Mills and Boon, Ltd.).

"The Daisies": II, 23 (Jan. 1913). 574.—A four-stanza lyric of which the version in *Collected Poems* (53) wisely omits the first, presenting the remainder with altered punctuation and new verse-alignment.

"The Reason": III, 27 (May 1913). 129.—Trivial lyric of four six-line stanzas not included in *Collected Poems*.

"Jealousy": III, 30 (Aug. 1913). 295.—A ten-line lyric, also trivial and missing from *Collected Poems*.

"The Threepenny Piece": III, 31 (Sept. 1913). 334-342.—A short story reprinted, with numerous minor changes, in *Here Are Ladies* and again used in Chapter XXV of *The Demi-Gods*. (Cf., above, "MacDhoul.")

"Four Poems": IV, 38 (Apr. 1914). 75 ff.—"Deirdre" (pp. 75-76), "The Voice of God" (p. 76), "The Centaurs" (p. 77), and "In the Dark" (p. 78). These lyrics were reprinted, with the usual very minor revisions, on pages 70-71, 229, 19, and 23, respectively, of *Collected Poems*.

GEORGE BRANDON SAUL

University of Connecticut

Book Reviews

WING, DONALD GODDARD, *comp.* *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641-1700*. New York, Printed for the Index Society by Columbia University Press. Volume I, A1-E2926, 1945, [xviii] + 562 pp. Volume II, E2927-O1000, 1948, [xi] + 520 pp. Volume III, P1-Z28, 1951, [xi] + 521 pp. 11 x 8¾ inches. \$40 to members of the Society; \$55 to non-members.

Like its great predecessor, Pollard and Redgrave's *Short-Title Catalogue of Books . . . 1475-1640*, this three-volume continuation of the record through 1700 is destined to be one of the most significant books ever published for the study of English literature. For the historian and the literary scholar it is a masterpiece of enumerative bibliography and a literary map of one of the most important periods of English life, the Civil War and the Commonwealth, the Restoration and the Whig Revolution, years which saw the birth of modern science as well as modern politics, to say nothing of their significance to literature. The Wing STC is already an indispensable tool for any kind of scholarly work in the period, historical and literary. All scholarly libraries must have it; most students will find it too valuable to depend upon the library copy and will want to possess their own copies. No antiquarian bookseller can afford to be without the work, and it will be an equally invaluable guide to collectors.

"Wing"—for already this compilation is familiarly identified with its editor, and the years it spans are the "Wing period"—aims to give abridged entries alphabetically by authors of all English books printed within the sixty years between 1641 and 1700 inclusive, copies of which are known to exist—between 80,000 and 90,000 titles in all. "Ghosts"—i.e., books known only by title—and others known or believed to have been produced but of which no copies can be found, are not included. But a collection of some 8,000 unlocated items were recorded on slips and are available for consultation with the rest of the editor's manuscript in the Yale University library. By "English" is meant all books in whatever language printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and the American Colonies, and

all books in the English language wherever printed, but foreign language books by English authors printed outside of England are not included. Hence, the scope of the compilation is approximately the same as that of the 1475-1640 volume, and the work is equally important for seventeenth-century American literature as for English. Only one kind of English printed matter has been excluded—periodical literature, and only because to catalogue such ephemera as news-sheets and the innumerable publications called *Mercurius* this or *Mercurius* that would have required another large volume, a more descriptive listing with collations, and—Mr. Wing confesses—a different editor more interested in the subject and in such a task. Besides, though the editor does not justify his omission by alluding to it, there are the *Census of British Newspapers and Periodicals, 1620-1800*, by R. S. Crane and F. B. Kaye (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1927), containing 2182 entries, and the more recent bibliography, primary and secondary, by Katherine K. Weed and Richmond P. Bond.¹

Comparisons are bound to be made with the Pollard and Redgrave STC, and one or two observations may be pertinent at the beginning. Like the earlier STC, the Wing volumes are “a dangerous work for anyone to handle lazily.” Both are short-title catalogues, handlists of copies which could be traced, not full-dress bibliographies which carefully distinguish all variant editions and issues. They must be judged for what they are and not for what they make no pretense of being, and be verified and checked in use against the books themselves. And if such a warning was deemed necessary for the Pollard and Redgrave volume, it is even more necessary for this compilation. In dealing with nearly 90,000 titles it is too much to expect that an editor, no matter who he might be, could aspire to bibliographical expertness on every volume. To have done so would have required a systematic tour through every library catalogue and a subsequent examination of every copy. As it is, before his task was finished, in spite of war and ARP storage, the compiler himself actually handled and examined and made notes on ninety per cent of the books listed. This is a much greater degree of personal checking with the actual books than was possible for the earlier STC, which was largely a compilation from printed library catalogues, with some coöperative checking by librarians of varying degrees of interest and competency. It is doubtless in the checking of the holdings of various libraries—over 200 of which

¹ *Studies of British Newspapers and Periodicals from their Beginning to 1800; a Bibliography* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1946).

are listed in the table of location symbols—i.e., in the coöperative side of the present work, that there is the greatest percentage of error. Such checking for location in American libraries was done on proof-sheets especially at Harvard, Huntington, Folger, Princeton, Princeton Theological Seminary, Columbia, Newberry, the University of Chicago, the University of Cincinnati, and the William L. Clark Library in Los Angeles. Catalogue cards were loaned by the University of Texas, the Union Theological Seminary, and the John Carter Brown Library. Others, including many individual collectors, sent in information about their holdings. It was obviously impossible for the editor to check all collections himself, or to have them checked by others, but it may nevertheless disturb some that no special mention in this connection is made in the preface to the University of Illinois or the New York Public Library. How thorough was the checking in these important collections?

Obviously, no work of this kind can be successfully carried on without a considerable amount of collaboration; one wonders if there has been enough in this work. Herein lies one of the great differences between the earlier STC and Wing. Pollard and Redgrave themselves merely headed a committee of English editors—all good but all different—and enlisted the helpful coöperation, volunteer or conscriptive, of many workers in England and some in America. The Wing STC is the almost single-handed work of one man. There are advantages and disadvantages. To organize teamwork and to train collaborators requires valuable energy, a peculiar kind of patience which God gave only to His saints, and, above all, time. Greater completeness, also, and a higher standard of uniformity and accuracy are possible if everything passes under one pair of eyes and all slips are written by one man. But, on the other hand, in spite of skill, experience, and the fifteen-odd years the editor has devoted to it, the labor was one for Hercules, not mortal man.

For in many ways the task Mr. Wing set himself was much more difficult than that of the editors of the earlier STC. The 1475-1640 volume lists some 26,000 titles; Wing's catalogue for the next sixty years covers more than three times as many. Indeed, the Thomason Collection of Tracts in the British Museum—which caused the hearts of the earlier compilers to grow faint and was largely responsible for their terminal date—alone contains 26,000 items. In addition, for the period before 1640 there had already been compiled several specialized bibliographies, like the three-volume British Museum list, published in 1884, and a simi-

lar one for Cambridge.² For the period from 1640 on there were few such aids, but users of the Wing volumes will be grateful for references in his listing to such standard bibliographical works as Falconer Madan's *Oxford Books*, Harry G. Aldis's *Books Printed in Scotland before 1700*, E. R. McC. Dix's *Early Dublin-printed Books, 1601-1700*, Charles Evans's *American Bibliography*, as well as to such specialized author bibliographies as Fulton's *Boyle*, Keynes's *Donne and Evelyn*, Holmes's *The Mathers*, McDonald's *Dryden*, and Bartlett's *Shakespeare*. Indeed, one of the improvements of the Wing STC over the earlier one is the increase in the number of these bibliographical references.

In other ways, also, the editor of the present work has benefited by the experience of his predecessors. From the beginning his plan was somewhat more systematic, and his method more advanced. Every effort was made to supply on slips the following information about a book: (a) the name of the author (if on the title-page); (b) enough of the title to distinguish each particular book from any other, always retaining the first few words and uniformly abridging the rest by ellipsis; (c) information about imprints (more complete than in the earlier STC), citing the place of publication (except in the case of London, which is assumed), by whom printed, for whom, to be sold by, and date; (d) size, i.e., fol. 4°, 8°, etc.; (e) Term Catalogue reference, if found; (f) reference to a few standard bibliographies, such as Evans, Madan, Steele on royal proclamations, and others mentioned above; (g) symbols of location. The number of cross references, particularly in the case of Anonymous and Pseudonymous pieces, is greater than in the earlier STC. As in the earlier volume, no information is attempted as to the kind of type, if the text is wholly or largely in black letter, or as to bibliographical niceties, such as the priority of different issues bearing the same date. There is no pagination, but pamphlets of less than fifty pages are distinguished by an asterisk, a designation that will be extremely helpful to scholars who may wish photo-stats or films of these frequent short pieces. All single sheets, whether printed on one side or both, are called "broadsides" (brs.)—a practice which is open to some criticism. The greatest departure from the 1475-1640 volume is in the numbering of main entries. To avoid the use of

² [Bullen, George, comp.], *Catalogue of Books in the Library of the British Museum Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of Books in English Printed Abroad [from 1474] to the Year 1640*. 3 volumes. London, 1884.

[Sayle, Charles E., comp.], *Early English Printed Books in the [Cambridge] University Library, 1475-1640*. 4 volumes. Cambridge, 1900-1907.

nearly 90,000 numbers of five digits each, entries are numbered consecutively within each letter of the alphabet; E227 is a less cumbersome reference than 27,839.

As in the earlier STC, for the convenience of those who wish to consult copies, an effort has been made to locate every book. But also as in the case of the earlier STC, it must be emphasized that Wing is not a finding list or census of copies. Usually only one example is located in any one city, and in the case of common books the standard practice is to locate ten known copies (five British and five American), with as wide a sweep geographically as possible—for Britain one copy each in the British Museum, the Bodleian, the Cambridge University Library, Scotland, and Ireland; for America the Library of Congress or Folger, California, the Middle West, Texas, New England. Thus, when a copy is to be found in the British Museum, Harvard, the Bodleian, or the Huntington, other copies in London, New England, the Oxford colleges, or the Far West are not mentioned, even if known. And, obviously, greater attention is given in Wing than in the earlier STC to the holdings of American libraries. It is only when less than five copies are to be found in either British or American libraries that any deduction can be drawn as to the scarcity of a particular title. The mere fact that a collection is not credited with a common title is no indication that it does not have the book. Copies in private libraries are mentioned only where there are less than five public copies located. A fuller list of holdings is available for consultation on Mr. Wing's original slips in the Yale University Library.

Regrettably, users of both of the STC's will have to become accustomed to still a newer set of symbols of location. Instead of listing libraries in the same city by numbers, as did the earlier STC, the Wing catalogue uses letters exclusively. Admittedly, the new symbols are simpler; Y still stands for Yale and C for the Cambridge University Library and O for the Bodleian, but LMT is more suggestive of "London, Middle Temple" than the older L²⁵. Private libraries are referred to by the initials of their owners. For convenience of reference the symbols are printed on the end papers of all three volumes, as well as in the body of the book.

Comparisons between the two works as to accuracy and completeness must be left to time. Although the goal has been completeness, as in the case of the earlier STC the editor will be disappointed only if more than ten per cent of the extant books, or more than twenty per cent of extant editions and issues have eluded discovery. Since the appearance of Volume I in 1945 only a dozen or so of new titles have turned up, and most of

the additions have been of intermediary editions or issues. No doubt more will turn up when the cathedral libraries in England are eventually searched. After more than twenty-five years the new edition of Pollard and Redgrave, now in progress, will reveal that the percentage of error for that volume will fall far short of the anticipated margin. It will contain some 5,000 additions, including items in several libraries, like the Huntington and the Folger, which were uncatalogued or only partially catalogued in 1926 when the earlier STC appeared, and most of these are of new editions and issues, not overlooked titles. Interleaved copies of Wing are available for libraries and others who may wish to record additions and corrections.

In one respect, however, the Wing STC falls short of Pollard and Redgrave, and that is in the listing of translations. The earlier STC had as many proportionately to contend with, and it listed them under the names of the original authors with a notation "*Tr.* Philemon Holland," or "*Tr.* out of French by T. North." Wing also lists them chronologically under the names of the original authors, but without any indication as to the translators. For the literary student this is a grave omission. For instance, Plutarch's *Lives* in North's translation continued in popularity during the Wing period before being replaced by that of Dryden *et al* in 1683-1686. The North reprint of 1657 (P2633) is listed in Wing simply as "Fifth edition," because so described on the title-page, though actually it is the sixth. Similarly, the 1657 reprint of Philemon Holland's translation of the *Moralia* (P2654, 2655, 2655A and 2656) is undistinguished except by date and a variant title from that of Matthew Morgan *et al* (1683-1694), a work which is not mentioned under Matthew Morgan at all. Gilbert Burnet's translation of More's *Utopia* (1684 and 1685) is entered under More (M2691, 2692) without the name of the translator, and not referred to under Burnet. The late seventeenth century also produced several translations of Erasmus's *Colloquia* and the *Encomium Moriae*, all of which appear in chronological order under their titles, but with no indication as to which is which. How important this kind of omission is can be appreciated in the case of Aesop. During the Wing period translations of the *Fables* were made by the following: G. H. Goudanus (1646), Leonard Willan (1650), John Ogilby (1651), Thomas Philipot (1665), Philip Ayres (1689), Roger L'Estrange (1692-1699), and Charles Hoole (1695), not to mention anonymous versions in 1651, 1672, and 1698. All are listed in Wing, but there is no way of distinguishing them from one another. To be sure there are other means of finding

such information, but to have included it would have consumed very little additional space, and in some instances would have avoided confusion. One could spare some of the full information about who printed what, for whom, and where it could be bought for a little more about authorship. But this is a common failing in bibliographers. Also, in a book which in many respects is a continuation of a predecessor, one would have liked more cross reference to the earlier work in the case of authors who spanned both periods or whose books were published in both.

But "Dictionaries," said Dr. Johnson, "are like watches; the worst is better than none, and the best cannot be expected to go quite true." Bibliographies are much the same.

Wing's STC is one of the publications of the Index Society, an organization which exists solely to make available to scholars tools of this caliber. It is not a publishing firm, it must get along without the advantages of extensive advertising and devices of marketing, and it must liquidate its resources from each publication before it can go on to the next one. But if it weren't a society, volumes like this and the *Index of Middle English Verse* probably would not exist. May it some day soon find an angel who will provide it with an endowed revolving fund! Orders and inquiries about the Wing STC should be addressed to Professor Harold W. Bentley, Secretary of the Index Society, University of Utah, Salt Lake City. The set of three volumes is priced at \$40 to members of the Index Society, and \$55 to non-members. The books have been handsomely designed, printed, and bound in brown buckram with red labels.

KARL J. HOLZKNECHT

New York University

GASKELL, PHILIP. *The First Editions of William Mason*. Cambridge, Bowes & Bowes, 1951. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches. 10 shillings; free to members. (Cambridge Bibliographical Society Monograph, No. 1.)

With the exception of a single note in Iolo Williams' *Points in Eighteenth-Century Verse*¹ William Mason has been completely ignored by bibliographers in quest of more exciting game. It is gratifying to observe that the oversight has now been remedied in this full, generally accurate, and completely sympathetic record of the poet's achievement. Mr. Gaskell accommodates himself both to the limitations of his subject and to the interest of his readers by reducing the bibliographical data to a minimum

¹ New York, R. R. Bowker Co., 1934.

and extending the historical account of each book, so far as he may, "from its birth in the author's mind to its death in the pulping mill." Where, as with Mason, the intent and reception of a work is usually less apparent than its physical make-up, the emphasis is quite proper.

Since this will remain not only as the first but probably as the only bibliography of Mason, the occasion calls for comment on the few entries requiring emendation. The variant imprints of the 1747 *Musaeus*, here described as states, actually indicate separate editions; and from the press-corrections noted in one of these (the one with the imprint in two lines) it would seem that the order is the reverse of that assigned. For the 1756 *Odes* Mr. Gaskell's ingenious argument must be revamped to explain the presence of a third title (represented by copies at Harvard and the Library of Congress) of the same setting as the cancel but apparently conjugate to leaf A4. According to the *Daily Advertiser* the second edition of this work was published on April 3, not April 9. Concerning still another book, the 1759 *Caractacus*, it might be noted that the copy of the first edition at the New York Public Library contains in the author's hand revisions possibly corresponding to those eventually entered in the alteration of 1777.

Among Mr. Gaskell's several contributions to our general knowledge of the printing in this period, certainly the most important is his discovery of some correspondence relating to the use of long galleys in the preparation of the *Poems of Mr. Gray*. As these allusions in 1773 antedate by sixty years those cited in McKerrow and Howe, the information may be put to good use in the analysis of certain eighteenth-century books hitherto regarded as inexplicable.

Also of some interest is Mr. Gaskell's adoption of the bookbinders' term "outset" to designate a wrap-around. Thus the *Heroic Epistle*, conventionally defined in the Greg-Bowers formulary as $A^2 [-A2] B-E^2 F1 [=A2]$ with a supplemental note on the conjugacy of A1 and F1, is conveniently simplified in the inclusive statement $A^2(\text{outset}) B-E^2$. Both the expanded and contracted descriptions are, however, somewhat unrealistic, since neither indicates the direction of the fold. Normally, in such instances, the final gathering is used first to complete the text and then, if any leaves remain, filled in with the preliminary matter subsequently brought forward around the body of the book. Hence the formula should be, properly, $A1 [=F2] B-E^2 F^2 [-F2]$ or $B-E^2 F^2(\text{outset})$. So identified, the title-page (now moved from position $F2^r$ to $A1^r$) is correctly designated as one of the *inner* form of the original gathering.

Though modestly described as a "handlist" and evidently experimental in manner of presentation, this bibliography deserves attentive consideration as a model for others of a similar nature. As the first of the Cambridge monographs it is a happy augury of things to come.

WILLIAM B. TODD

Salem College

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The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America



VOLUME FORTY-SIX
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WILLIAM B. TODD

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Book Reviews

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PHYLLIS W. G. GORDAN

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N. ORWIN RUSH

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EDWIN H. CARPENTER, JR.

Edward Everett Hale: Preacher as Publisher

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Bibliographical Notes

Book Reviews

The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

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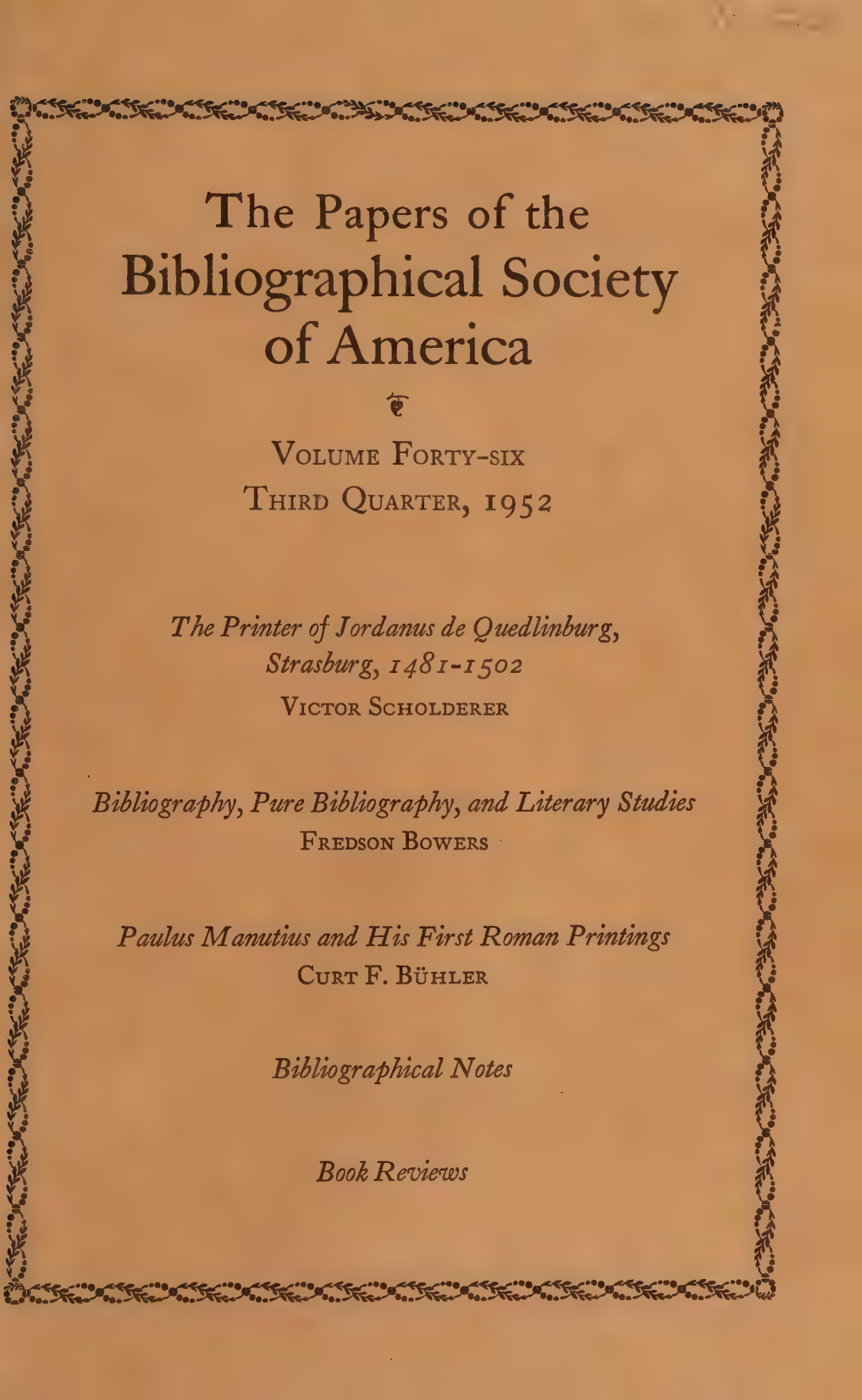
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